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The Political Philosophy of Modern Shintō
A Study of the State Religion of Japan

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE DIVINITY SCHOOL IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
(DEPARTMENT OF CHURCH HISTORY)

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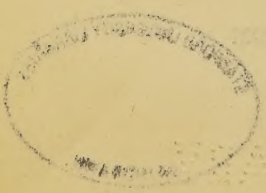

PREFACE

The discussion in the following pages is not offered as a treatment of modern Shintō in all its various aspects. The problems discussed are particularly those which arise out of the relationship existing between the Shintō shrines and the modern Japanese state. It has been thought advisable, however, to include in the first part of Chapter I a brief outline of Shintō development prior to the modern period. For the earlier periods the references given in the notes should be consulted. The expediency of separating the third phase of Shintō (that of the Revival of Pure Shintō) from the medieval period may perhaps be questioned, especially in view of the fact that the actual political influence of Shintō under the Tokugawa Shogunate was comparatively slight; yet it needs to be remembered that the third phase of Shintō marks a movement sufficiently distinct to have merited the special consideration of no less a scholar than Sir Ernest Satow.

It is also recognized that the term "philosophy" in the main title of the discussion is used in a general sense. The usage implies an official theory and practice regarding Shintō, connected and adjusted by design.

The statement regarding *Ōmoto Kyō* which appears on page 126 was written prior to the abolition of this sect by the government. The situation which necessitated such action on the part of the authorities, however, does not affect the appropriateness of the citation which is made from *Ōmoto Kyō* publications. Indeed, it has been suggested that the chauvinistic Mikadoism of *Ōmoto Kyō* was put on as protective coloring, and, if so, the necessity still remains of interpreting a political situation which makes such tactics possible.

In the course of the argument it has been found necessary to introduce comparative material from non-Japanese fields. This is especially true of those sections which deal with the study of the mythology of the official cult. Attention is called to the fact that the reason for the introduction of such comparative material does not lie in a desire to validate the operation of the principle of acculturation. The purposes of the argument are sufficiently satisfied if the operation of the principle of parallelism can be established.

References to sources and authorities are given in full in the notes.

D. C. Holtom.

Tokyo, April, 1922.

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ABBREVIATIONS

H Z. *Hōrei Zensho*, Complete Collection of Laws and Ordinances, Japanese Government.

N. *Nihonshoki* (*Kokushi Taikei Rokkokushi*), Tokyo, 1915.

A. Aston, W. G., *Nihongi*, 2 Vols., Supplement I of Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society, London, 1896.

C. Chamberlain, B. H., *Kojiki*, Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Vol. X, Supplement, 1882.

F. Florenz, Karl, *Japanische Mythologie. Nihongi, Zeitalter der Götter*, Tokyo, 1901.

T.A.S.J. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan.

T.J.S.L. Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society, London.

H.E.R.E. Hastings Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics.

NOTE

Where two names of a Japanese person are given, the name in italics indicates the family name. The general rule followed has been to print family names first, as in ordinary Japanese usage. (D. C. H.)

THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF MODERN SHINTŌ.

CHAPTER I.

Historical Introduction.

One of the most noteworthy politico-religious situations of history is to be found in the expansion of modern Shintō. In this development the Japanese government has attempted to stabilize important political institutions and at the same time secure a form of religious adjustment by isolating Shintō from recognized religious bodies such as Buddhism and Christianity. Hereby government sanction has been given to the interpretation that official Shintō is not a religion.

The Meiji and Taishō eras have witnessed the enactment of a series of laws and departmental regulations which may be legitimately interpreted as an effort on the part of the Japanese government to find a workable religious policy which, while preserving under direct state control those Shintō institutions which are regarded as contributory to the unification and discipline of popular sentiments of loyalty and patriotism, would yet make possible a fairly satisfactory disposition of the affairs of religious organizations outside of the official cult, and at the same time meet the pressure of inevitable modernizing tendencies in the various departments of Japanese life induced by contacts with occidental culture. The Japanese state has had to deal not simply with problems of readjustment arising out of the urgency of assimilating absolutely indispensable elements of western civilization but also, in the meantime, has found it necessary to strengthen itself against the dangers of free-thought, socialism and even anarchism. The interplay of the forces found in modernism, in the activity of non-Shintō religious bodies, and in the alleged necessity of unifying the Japanese

social mind by concentrating it on characteristic Japanese institutions has produced the modern Shintō situation. This has raised difficult problems for the Japanese state.

The effort to solve these problems has culminated in the complete separation of the control of the Shintō shrines from the oversight of ordinary religious matters. Under the direction of this policy Shintō ceremonies have taken on the character of important affairs of state systematized under national law, in the ritual of which even civil officials may participate. Shintō priests have been given court rank and treated as government officials with appointment and superintendence regulated by the State; the support of Shintō institutions has been made an affair of State concern and has been secured wholly or in part out of government revenues; great shrines have been constructed at government expense; and the shrines themselves have been interpreted and utilized as non-religious agencies for the strengthening of national morality.

How does it come about that such a position has been adopted by the Japanese government, and what is its justification in actual historical fact? The attempt to answer these questions constitutes the subject matter of the following discussion.

A question immediately arises as to what constitutes the essential nature of Shintō.[1] As far as the term itself is concerned, there is no documentary evidence in Japanese records to show definitely that it was in use in Japan prior to the introduction of Buddhism in 552 A.D.[2] The evidence, as far as it goes, indicates that the word came into general use as a result of the heightening of national consciousness during the early period of the struggle between Buddhism, as a foreign faith, and the

1. 神道、*Shintō, or Shindō, Kami no Michi*, "The Way of the Gods." For a valuable discussion of the origin and meaning of the term Shintō, consult *Kume*, Kunitake, *Nihon Kodai Shi to Shintō to no Kankei* (久米邦武、日本古代史と神道との關係、"The Relations of Shintō and Ancient Japanese History," Tokyo, 1907), pp. 1-18.

2. A., Vol. 11, pp. 55, 65.

native religion of old Japan.[1] The term was probably borrowed from Chinese usage. In its early periods the indigenous cult of Japan appears to have been nameless.[2]

Shintō has been defined as a generic name for ideas and institutions existing in Japan prior to the introduction of Buddhism and Confucianism,[3] and again as an expression of the primitive instincts of the Japanese race.[4] The modern nationalistic exposition tries to find the basis in ancestor worship,[5] an interpretation which Lowell re-expresses as the patriarchal principle projected remotely into the past[6]; Katō defines it as a system of patriotism and loyalty, centering in Mikadoism, and expressing the nationalistic religious enthusiasm of the Japanese people.[7] Inouye finds in it the fullest expression of the religious spirit of the Japanese race.[8] Aston and Kume agree in describing Shintō as *kami*-cult, a term in which *kami* indi-

1. A., *op. cit.* Also *id.* p. 106.

2. A favorite explanation follows Motoori in assigning the name *Kamu nagara* to the earliest known Japanese religion. This *nagara* however, is probably to be taken in the ordinary sense of *nagara* in the Japanese language, *i. e.* "the same as," "just as." *Kamu nagara* would thus have simply the meaning of *kami no mama nite*, "*Kami* as such." *Cf. Genkai* (言海), p. 224.

3. *Nishikawa*, Kōjirō, *Shintō Kyōso Den* (西川光次郎、神道教祖傳、"An Account of the Founders of Shintō," Tokyo, 1914), p. 1.

4. *Nitobe*, Inazō, *The Japanese Nation*, p. 121.

5. *Cf. Kōno*, Shōzō, *Kokumin Dōtoku Shiron* (河野省三、國民道德史論、"A History of National Morality," Tokyo, 1920), pp. 226-228. Dr. Y. Haga has declared that original Shintō was "essentially an ancestor worship." T. J. S. L., Vol. XV (1916-1917), p. 122.

6. Lowell, P., *Occult Japan*, p. 21.

7. *Katō*, Genchi, *Waga Kokutai to Shintō* (加藤玄智、我が國體と神道、"Our National Organization and Shintō," Tokyo, 1919, p. 222. *Cf.* also Griffis, W. E., "*The Religions of Japan*, pp. 45-48, 74-82, 88; Knox, G. W. *The Development of Religion in Japan*, p. 78.

8. *Inouye*, Tetsujirō, *Kokumin Dōtoku Gairon* (井上哲次郎、國民道德概論、"Outlines of National Morality," Tokyo, 1912), pp 98-99; *Meiji Seitoku Kinen Gakkai Kiyō* (明治聖德記念學會紀要、第七卷、"Transactions of the Japan Society in Commemoration of H. M. The Emperor Meiji", Vol. VII, April, 1917), pp. 225-229.

cates primarily the deities of the ancient Japanese pantheon.[1] Nitobe further characterizes it as hylozoism or pan-psychism, a point of view wherein *kami* is taken to signify the "psyche" which exhibits itself in all the forms and forces of nature.[2] Harada declares that the earliest form of Shintō was nature worship, to which was subsequently added the worship of deified men and that by virtue of this latter addition arose an inseparable connection with the national life and an intimate association with loyalty and patriotism.[3] Florenz is likewise of the opinion that Shintō in the oldest form, as made known to us in the extant records, was a combination of polytheistic nature worship and ancestor cult.[4] He further conjectures that this was the old religion brought in to the Japanese archipelago by the early ancestors of the race, probably from an original home on the Asiatic mainland.

The different points of view represented in the above statements of the essential nature of Shintō will reappear later in the discussion. It is not necessary to atttempt their harmonization here. Nor is it deemed advisable to attempt to set out with an a priori definition of the nature of Shintō. A brief characterization of official Shintō must suffice at the present point. This may be described as a ceremonial which centers in the native

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1. *Kume*, Kunitake, "Shintō," *Fifty Years of New Japan*, Vol. II, p. 22; Aston, W. G., *Shintō, the Way of the Gods*, p. 41, also preface, p. 10. Aston says, "Shintō, the old native religion of Japan had no cult of true ancestors." Man, 1906, No. 23.

2. Nitobe, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

3. *Harada*, Tasuku, *The Faith of Japan*, pp. 2,4. *Cf.* also Asakawa, *The Early Institutional Life of Japan*, pp. 31-44.

4. Florenz, Karl, "Der Shintoismus," *Die Orientalischen Religionen*, p 194, (*Die Kultur der Gegenwart*, Teil I, Abteilung III, I). See also Revon, M., "Le Shinntoisme," *Revue de L'Histoire des Religions*, XLIX, pp. 12-16; Revon, "Ancestor Worship Japanese)," H. E. R. E., I, p. 456; Chamberlain, *Things Japanese* (1898, p 358; Brinkley and Kikuchi, *A History of the Japanese People*, New York and London, 1915), p. 64.

Japanese shrines (*miya*)[1] and which is alleged to have its classical expression in the oldest Japanese literature, especially in the *Kojiki*, the *Nihongi* and the ancient *Norito*. Fundamental to this position is an ancestral theory of the ancient Japanese deities. The justification of these statements will be found in the ensuing discussion.

Japanese investigators ordinarily divide historical Shintō into two main streams of development. The orthodox analysis gives *tennen sūhai*,[2] "nature worship," on the one side and *sosen sūhai*,[3] "ancestor worship," on the other. The basis of this differentiation is a conception of the nature of deity in Shintō as being two-fold. In other words, the idea of God is here looked upon as being the result of the assimilative combination of two psychological elements of diverse origin, namely, an element arising out of experience with natural events or objects and leading to the notions of demons and spirits of nature and, again, an element coming from experiences in human society, as such, and leading to the worship of heroes and ancestral spirits. There is a marked tendency on the part of the modern directors of thought in Japan in religious, educational and political spheres alike, to emphasize the latter element as the more characteristic Japanese expression.

Thus, a system of thought and practice that is thoroughly affected by feelings of reverence and loyalty toward important personages in the tribe or state is supposed to have marked the religion of the ancient Japanese prior to all contact with either

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1. 宮, a technical term for a Shintō shrine, from *mi*, honorific and *ya*, "house." Anciently the term was applied to the residence of a member of the royal family. The modern Japanese government uses as a designation for Shintō shrines the term, *jinja* (*jinsha*), 神社 (*kami no yashiro*, "Shrine of the *Kami*"). Buddhist edifices are distinguished as *tera* (寺), while those of Christianity and the non-official Shintō sects are called *kyōkai* (教會), "churches."

2. 天然崇拜

3. 祖先崇拜

Confucian or Buddhist influences. True Shintō deities, it is declared, are ancestral, and although superstitious rites and practices are admitted to exist in popular Shintō, due partly to survivals out of Japanese primitivity, and partly to the effects of syncretism with foreign cults, yet the fundamental and characteristic emphasis has always been ancestral and nationalistic. This is the center of the modern Shintō cult. Shintō thus becomes a most important support for Japanese national morality in the present and as such vitally related to modern Japanese political philosophy, so much so, that the latter can hardly be understood apart from its interconnection with the Shintō cult. As a means of orientating further discussion the introduction of an outline statement of the historical development seems advisable.

Four main periods or phases of Shintō history are to be distinguished. It is impossible within the limits of the present discussion to do more than to briefly characterize the first three; the fourth will be dealt with at greater length. The first period is bounded on the farther side by an indefinite mythological area in which the fixing of dates is a precarious undertaking—in spite of the apparent exactitude with which the early chronology is established by Japanese state authority—and on the nearer side by the closing years of the sixth century A.D. This is the period of Old Shintō. Although the source material bearing on this period was not given existing literary form until after the process of assimilation with Buddhism and Chinese philosophy had already set in, yet the mythology and ritual of the ancient Japanese religion stand out with such unmistakable clearness, that the main outlines of Old Shintō can be reconstructed with a considerable degree of exactitude. The structural basis of the mythology is closely similar to what is found almost universally at appropriate stages of culture. The great deities are aspects of nature interpreted in terms of human social experience. The rituals (*norito*) are motivated primarily by the desires to safe-guard the food

supply, to ensure the success and permanence of the governmental regime, and to secure release from ceremonial impurity.[1]

The second period of Shintō extends for some eleven hundred years between the time of the rise of Buddhism and the date of the passing of the Buddhist and Chinese eclipse of Shintō, which may conveniently be fixed at 1737 A.D., the year in which *Kamo* Mabuchi first began to make public in Yedo the result of his researches into ancient Japanese literature.[2] In this second phase of its history Shintō is widely overshadowed and to a large extent absorbed by its great rival. Yet this Buddhist ascendency was gained not without conflict and not without the aid of priestcraft. The appearance of Buddhism in Japan in the middle of the sixth century created issues that brought into being two rival parties in the state, a pro-Buddhist party centering in the Soga family and a pro-Shintō party centering in the house of Mononobe. Under the protection of royal influence the former faction steadily gained in power and before the close of the century Buddhism had deeply penetrated the government itself. Emperors and high government officials now became Buddhist; the sutras were expounded under government direction; Buddhist services

1. Consult A., F., and C. for source material. For translations of *Norito* contained in the *Engi Shiki* see Satow, "Ancient Japanese Rituals," T. A. S. J., Vols. VII, IX, (1879-1881) and Florenz, *i.t.* Vol. XXVII, 1899. *Cf.* also Florenz, *Geschichte der Japanischen Litteratur* (Leipzig, 1906). pp. 36-46. For source material and discussions in Japanese consult *Kokuchi Taikei* (國史大系、"Great System of National History"), Vol. I, *Nihongi*; Vol. II, *Shoku-Nihongi*; Vol. VII, pp. 1-170, *Kojiki*; Vol. XIII, pp. 85-190, *Engi-Shiki*; also *Tsuda*, Noritake, *Shintō Kigen Ron* (津田敬武、神道起原論、"An Essay on the Origin of Shintō"), Tokyo, 1920; *Kakehi*, Katsuhiko, *Koshindō Taigi* (筧克彦、古神道大義、"The Essentials of Old Shintō"), Tokyo, 1912; *Saeki*, Ariyoshi, *Dai Nihon Shingi Shi* (佐伯有義、大日本神祇史、"An Account of the Deities of Great Japan," Tokyo, 1913), pp. 1-304; *Tanaka*, Yoshitō, *Shintō Hongi* (田中義能、神道本義、"The Essentials of Shintō," Tokyo 1911), pp. 1-48.

2. *Cf. Tanaka*, Tatsu, *Shindō Kwanken* (田中達、神道管見、"A Birds eye View of Shintō," Tokyo, 1915), pp. 53-55.

were conducted in the palace; Buddhist affairs were regulated by imperial decree and, finally, Buddhism was propagated by imperial order and Buddhist festivals became affairs of state. By the opening years of the ninth century the doctrinal assimilation of Buddhism and Shintō had been accomplished, so that now Buddhist rites were conducted at Shintō shrines while the priests prayed to Shintō gods under Buddhist names.[1]

The underlying principle of this alliance of Shintō and Buddhism is best seen in the so-called *Ryōbu-Shintō*, "Two-sided Shintō," developed to a very large extent under the influence of the great Buddhist priest, Kōbō Daishi (d. 835 A. D.). This syncretism is not to be understood as entirely the result of a popular evolution expressing a genuine amalgamation, but also as a clever piece of statesmanship on the part of Buddhist propagandists, resulting in the production of a theology that explained the deities of the native pantheon as the transmigration of the gods of Mahayana Buddhism. The Sun Goddess, *Amaterasu-Ōmi-Kami*, the central deity of the Japanese system, was equated with the great Buddha, *Vairochana*, the center of the "world of thoughts" and the "world

1. For the ancient record of this remarkable rise of Buddhism see A, II, pp. 66-67, 77, 90, 101-5, 111, 115, 118, 122, 123, 129, 134, 149-50, 152-4, 174-5, 196, 236-7, 240, 254, 263, 297-8, 337, 344, 346, 357, 369, 379, 384, 398-9, 408, 416, 421. A census of 623 A. D. reports 46 temples, 816 priests and 569 nuns (A., Vol. II, p. 154). The chronicle for the last day of the last month of 651 A. D. says that on this day 2100 priests and nuns were invited to the palace and made to read the Buddhist scriptures, (A., Vol. II, 240). By the year 690 A. D. the number of priests in seven of the largest temples totaled 3363. (A., Vol. II, p. 399).

For discussions of this period, in the Japanese language written from the point of view of Shintō history, consult Miura and Kiyohara, *Shindō Enkakushi Ron* (三浦周行、清原貞雄、神道沿革史論 "History of Shintō Development," Tokyo, 1919), pp. 47-392; *Miyoji*, Naoichi, *Shingishi Kōyō* 宮地直一、神祇史綱要 "Outline History of Shintō," Tokyo, 1919), pp. 37-182; Saeki, *op. cit.* pp 755 ff; *Maruyama*, Masahiko, *Dai Nihon wa Shinkoku nari* (丸山正彦、大日本者神國也、"Japan the Land of the Gods," Tokyo, 1911), pp. 103-273; *Inouye*, Tetsujirō, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-148.

of things" and thus a theological basis was established upon which all the other deities of both religions could be identified as emanations of this central life.[1]

Yet in spite of this triumph of Buddhism, the native religion still survived at the great shrines of Ise and Idzumo and in many of the beliefs and practices of the common people. Again, the seeds of the old plant lay hidden away undisturbed in the literature of ancient Shintō ready to germinate in proper season into a life that was to quicken the whole nation. This season of the quickening of the old came in the next period of Shintō development.

The third phase of Shintō history falls in the period lying between the opening years of the eighteenth century and the Restoration of 1868.[2] This is the period of the Japanese Renaissance. In it two outstanding characteristics are manifested. In the first place one may note in the movements of the times the beginning of the development of modern national consciousness, induced by the break-down of clan autonomy that was effected through the rise to power of the central Tokugawa regime. The second main characteristic of the period is traceable directly to the same cause as the former, that is, to the long era of internal peace resultant upon the political stability of the Tokugawa Shogunate. A great literary revival, to which the Japanese attach the name *Kogaku Fukkō*, "The Revival of Ancient Learning," now found a shelter in which to grow and bear fruit. Under the patronage of *Daimyō*, who had been forced into pursuits of peace, a genuine antiquarian interest manifested itself; an earnest search after old manuscripts began; libraries were founded, and a

1. Consult *Tsunimoto*, Tomeri, *Kōtō Daishi* (Kobe 1907); Lloyd, Arthur, *The Creed of Half Japan* (London, 1911), pp. 233-258; Reischauer, A. K., *Studies in Japanese Buddhism* (New York, 1917), pp. 94 ff.

2. Consult Satow, E., "The Revival of Pure Shintau," T. A. S. J., Vol. III, Pt. I (1874, revised 1882, Appendix, pp. 1-8; Brinkley, *A History of the Japanese People*, pp. 644-650; Miura and Kiyohara, *op. cit.*, pp 3 2 421; Florenz, "Der Shintoismus der Japaner," *Kultur der Gegenwart*, *op. cit.*, pp. 215 ff.

serious study of ancient history had its birth. Under the direction of Mitsukuni, Prince of Mito, (1622-1700), the archives of Buddhist temples and Shintō shrines were searched, private collections were bought up, and a great library of old manuscripts was collected in the city of Mito. A group of Japanese and Chinese scholars immediately set to work on the analysis and correlation of this material with the result that before the death of Mitsukuni, the valuable *Dai Nihonshi*, ("Great History of Japan") in two hundred and forty books was compiled and published, a work that has exercised a formative influence over Japanese historical study from the time of its appearance right up to the present.

The above mentioned characteristics of the period found their fullest expression in the revival of pure Shintō. Indeed, this movement to be properly understood must be studied as a nationalistic-imperialistic revival which found its main support in an appeal to the documents of ancient Shintō. The movement found its pioneer in *Kada* Azumamaro (1669-1736), and was carried through to its conclusion by the three great scholars *Kamo* Mabuchi (1697-1769 , *Motoori* Norinaga (1730-1801), and *Hirata* Atsutane (1776-1843). The source material for the study of Shintō in this period is to be found mainly in the writings of these four men.[1] In this literature an attempt is made to get below the foreign accumulations due primarily to Indian and Chinese influences and tap the pure spring of Japanese thought and institutions lying in the literature of the earliest period of Shintō. It is an attempt to dissolve the syncretism of the medieval period. The contents of the old literature are so interpreted as to furnish the means of a nationalistic propaganda and, more particularly, as an instrument of attack on the Tokugawa usurption. The growing consciousness here relies on an exegesis of history in order to develop the two-fold thesis of a *jure divino* sovereignty in an imperial line unbroken

1. *Cf.* Satow, *op. cit.*

from divine ages and a divine Japanese race which, by virtue of the intimacy of its genealogical connection with the gods, was braver, more intelligent and more virtuous than all the other races of the earth. The hold which this nationalistic interpretation of Shintō has gained on modern Japanese political theory will be developed in a subsequent discussion.

The modern period begins with the Restoration. The phase of development here open for survey, presents two distinct aspects, first, a popular expression in the form of a large number of Shintō sects which are admitted by all to be genuine religious organizations and, in the second place, an official cult, the religious nature of which is under debate. The former is frequently designated *Shūha* Shintō[1] ("Sect Shintō") as a means of distinguishing it from the latter. Our interest lies primarily in the direction of investigating the claims of official Shintō.

The history of modern Japan opens with Shintō established as a state religion. One of the first acts of the new government in the Restoration of 1868 was to abolish the ancient *Jisha Bugyō*[2] ("Board of Commissioners for Temples and Shrines") which had supervised government relations with religious bodies since the days of Tokugawa Iemitsu (1623-1650). Buddhism was denied state recognition and a large part of the ecclesiastical properties was appropriated by the government.[3] On the

1. 宗派神道

2. 寺社奉行

3. The laws on which where based the efforts to extricate Shintō from its entanglement with Buddhism are as follows:

"(1) Since the Middle Ages there have existed numerous shrines in which are Buddhist incarnations along with *Buddhist guardian deities* such as *Gozu Tennō* (牛頭天王), shrines in which, also, Shintō deities are called by Buddhist names. All such shrines must immediately send in detailed statements of their histories.

"(2) Shrines which are utilizing Buddhist statues as *shintai* must correct the usage and make report." Order of Council of State (*Dajōkwan*), April, 20, 1868, *Cf.* 楢杜吉次、現行神社法規逐條講義、上卷、Tokyo, 1912, p. 1.

An order sent out to all the superintendent priests of Buddhism in December, 1872, attempted rectification of theological errors. The order reads:

other hand the administration of Shintō was given a unique status in the form of an Office for Shintō Religion (*Jingi Kwan*),[1] ranking at the head of all the other departments of the government.[2] Early in its career the administrative offices of the entire Japanese government were reorganized into eight bureaus (*Kyoku*) so as to make room for a Presidential Board, and as a result the *Jingi Kwan* disappeared. In the reorganization, however, a *Jingi Shō*[3] (Department of Shintō) was still included on a parity of rank with all other departments of state.[4] Authority in the affairs of the state religion was vested in a minister for Shintō (*Chikwanji*), appointed from the high nobility and "possessed of supreme control in matters relating to the worship of the Gods and over the different orders of the priesthood."[5]

On August 6, 1870, a department known as the *Mimbushō*[6] ("Department for the People") was established and placed in charge of shrines and temples, public works, communications, mines, litigations, etc.[7] A *Shajigakari*[8] ("Office for Shrines and Temples") was included within the *Mimbushō*[9] and given

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"Buddhist priests have hitherto insisted that the *kami* 神) are the avatars of the Buddha (*hotoke*, 佛)、and that the Buddha is the noumenon (*hontai*, 本體) of the *kami*. Although they teach that the *kami* are to be reverenced, their way of teaching is estranging. Their method of instructing in reverence is not only insincere, but it also greatly dishonors the *shintai*. This is wrong. Examine yourselves, repent, and properly lead the people." H. Z., 1872, p. 1296.

1. 神祇官
2. Act of Feb. 10, 1868. H. Z., 1867-68, II, 15-16; T. A. S. J., Vol. XLII, Pt. I, p 4.
3. 神祇省
4. The actual change did not take place until Sept. 22, 1871. The law under this date says, "It is hereby announced that the *Jingikwan* is changed into the *Jingishō*." H. Z., 1871, Council of State (*Dajōkan*) Section, p. 316, Order No. 398.
5. T. A. S. J., *op. cit.*, p. 12.
6. 民部省
7. H. Z., 1870, pp. 261, 298-9.
8. 社寺掛
9. H. Z., 1870, p. 268.

control over religious affairs that "lay outside of the administration of the *Jingishō*."[1] This business related primarily to the financial and statistical affairs of religious institutions. On September 11, 1871, the *Mimbushō* was abolished and the Office of Shrines and Temples was transferred along with other affairs to the Department of Finance.[2] The Office for Shrines and Temples was now administered in connection with the Bureau of Registration of the Department of Finance.[3] The explanation of this situation is to be found in the fact that the government at this time required the registration of the birth of children with the authorities of local shrines.[4] In these changes Buddhist affairs were given a certain limited amount of official supervision but the general situation was not one in which an organization of the strength of Buddhism could long rest content.

The exclusive position of Shintō was thus of but brief duration. Buddhist aggression once more manifested itself and as a result on April 21, 1872, the Department of Shintō was abolished and in its stead appeared a Department of Religion (*Kyōbu Shō*),[5] having oversight of all legally recognized religious bodies.[6] The scope of business placed in charge of the new office plainly shows that the government of the time was temporarily committed to a program which was attempting to support the institutions of the state with an amalgamation of Buddhism and Shintō. The law stipulated that the *Kyōbushō* should take charge of the following affairs.

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1. *Shūkyō Yōran* (宗教要覽, "Religious Directory," Pub. by the Bureau of Religions, Japanese Department of Education, Tokyo, 1916), p. 1.

2. H. Z., 1871, *Dajōkan* Section, p. 294, Orders No. 375, 376.

3. *Shūkyō Yōran, op. cit.*

4. H. Z., 1870, pp. 248-254.

5. 教部省

6. The law states, "It is announced that the *Jingishō* is hereby abolished and the *Kyōbushō* is established." H. Z., 1872, p. 79 (April 21. Also, "Since the *Kyōbushō* has been established recently, affairs relating to Shintō priests come under the jurisdiction of this office." H. Z., *Dajōkan* section, p. 94 (June 5).

"1. Matters relating to the establishment and abolishment of shrines and temples and also matters relating to the determination of the rank and grade of priests of both Shintō and Buddhism.

"2. Matters relating to the new appointment of priests of Shintō and Buddhism.

"3. Matters relating to the licensing of the publication of books on doctrine.

"4. Matters relating to licensing those who assemble believers and explain doctrines and those who form religious associations.

"5. Matters relating to the judgement of doctrinal cases."[1]

Buddhism was thus again accorded full government recognition and given the same grade of autonomy as was granted Shintō. Buddhist and Shintō priests without distinction were now officially designated *Kyōdō Shoku*[2] ("Teachers of Religion and Morals"). This office was established May 31, 1872,[3] and on September 10th of the same year was definitely extended to include Shintō priests. The law reads, "Let it be understood that hereafter priests (Shintō) are to have the office of *Kyōdō Shoku*."[4] The main duties of the *Kyōdō Shoku* were comprehended in preaching and teaching in exposition of

1. H. Z., 1872, *Dajōkan* Section, pp, 80-81 (April, 30). Similar legislation of a slightly earlier date says regarding the business of the *Kyōbushō*, "This department shall have control over all matters concerning religious teaching. The main items of business coming under its jurisdiction are as follows:

(1) Affairs concerning doctrines and sects.

(2) Affairs concerning regulations for religions.

(3) Affairs concerning the abolishing and establishing of shrines and temples.

(4) Affairs concerning the rank of priests of Shintō and Buddhism and the grade of shrines and temples.

(5) Appointment of Shintō priests and of priests and nuns of Buddhism." H. Z., 1872, *Dajōkan* Section, p. 448 (April, 25).

2. 教導職

3. H. Z., 1872, p. 93.

4. H. Z., 1872, p. 172.

certain politico-religious propositions established by law in the form of "Regulations for Preaching." These regulations stated three articles which were to guide religious instruction.

"Article I. To embody the principles of reverence and patriotism.

"Article II. To make plain the Laws of Heaven and the Way of Humanity.

"Article III. To lead the people to respect the Emperor and to be obedient to his will."

These homiletical directions closed with the statement, "These three principles must be observed always and care must be exercised in preaching not to go contrary to their purport."[1]

Preaching places called *Shōkyōin*[2] ("Small Religious Institutes") were now established within the shrines themselves in order to facilitate instruction according to the "three principles." "All priests and *Kyōdōshoku* serving in either the large or small shrines of the country shall understand a small *kyōin* to mean a preaching place in front of a shrine. The main duty of the priests shall be the instruction of parishioners in accordance with the three principles. They should lead the people to study so widely that there will be no one who is ignorant. Thus civilization will be promoted and the fundamental principle of the unity of religion and the state[3] will be realized."[4]

Further evidence showing the extent to which Shintō was now officially regarded as a religion with functions similar to those of Buddhism is to be found in another important religious enactment of the same year, legalizing Shintō funeral ceremonies conducted by Shintō priests. The law declares, "Prior to this it has been forbidden for Shintō priests to conduct funeral services, but hereafter on application for a Shintō funeral on the

1. H. Z., 1872, pp. 1288-1289, *Kyōbushō* Order, Extra (June, 3).
2. 少教院
3. *Saisei itchi*, 祭政一致
4. H. Z., 1872, p. 1287, *Kyōbushō*, Order No. 29 (December, 24).

part of parishioners, it is permitted to give assistance to the chief mourners and conduct ceremonies."[1]

Under the influence of this state policy a form of *Ryōbu Shintō* made a temporary appearance as a state religion. Buddhism fraternized officially with Shintō. Buddhist priests appeared in public clad in Shintō robes. The Japanese government, however, very quickly found that it was trying to plow with a team that could not pull together. The powerful Shin sect of Buddhism which throughout its history had consistently disdained to sanction any rapprochment with Shintō, refused now to be drawn into any entangling alliances.[2] Accordingly, on May 3, 1875, the government made formal dissolution of partnership with Buddhism after an experiment that had lasted just three years and thirteen days. The breach with Buddhism was never to be closed; rather, it was to widen with the passing years. The control of Buddhism and Shintō remained for the time being as before in the charge of the *Kyōbushō*, but all union was prohibited. The law is very explicit on this point,—"To the superintendent priests of all sects of Shintō and of Buddhism. As stated in the subjoined notice, the establishment of union religious institutes (*kyōin*) between the sects of Shintō and Buddhism is now prohibited. The three principles for preaching shall be observed more carefully; independent *kyōin* shall be established; and propaganda shall be carried on diligently.

"(Subjoined notice). Propaganda carried on through union *kyōin* of Shintō and Buddhism is prohibited. Propaganda shall be conducted independently hereafter. These orders shall be communicated to the *Kyōdōshoku*."[3]

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1. H. Z., 1872, p. 134, *Dajōkan* Order No. 193 (August, 2).

2. On the Buddhist situation consult *Saeki*, Ariyoshi, *Dai Nihon Shingi Shi* (佐伯有義、大日本神祇史、"An Account of the Deities of Great Japan," Tokyo, 1913), p 1296.

3. H. Z., 1875, p. 1666, *Kyōbushō* Orders No. 4 and 14 (May, 3).

Finally, in January 1877, religious affairs passed under the control of a new office, namely, the *Shaji Kyoku*,[1] or Bureau of Shrines and Temples in the Department of Home Affairs.[2] This new bureau was to supervise religious affairs until the memorable legislation of 1900 which separated the Shintō shrines altogether from ordinary religious institutions. In all these changes we have an official classification of Shintō along with other organizations frankly recognized as religious, a matter that is especially noteworthy in view of actions that the government was to take before the nineteenth century was completed. It is difficult to see in this adjustment of the relations of Shintō and the state proof of a lack of vitality in Shintō itself. We can discern in these changes and others that were to follow an attempt on the part of the government to modernize its religious policy but at the same time retain the support of the spirit that was bound up with at least a section of Shintō institutions. The period 1871-72, in which the most important of the above mentioned changes took place, marks the beginning of a new era in Japanese political and social affairs. It is the real beginning of modern Japan. At this time the government was reorganized,[3] the old feudal clans were abolished, the present day division into *ken* (provinces) was adopted,[4] a beginning was made in organizing the Japanese

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1. 社寺局

2. "The *Kyōbushō* is hereby abolished. The business hitherto carried on in this office is now transferred to the Department of Home Affairs (*Naimu Shō*)." H. Z., 1877, *Dajōkan* Section, p. 2, Order No 4 Prior to this, on Nov. 25, 1872, a law had appeared declaring, "The Department of Education (*Monbushō*) and the Department of Religion (*Kyōbushō* are hereby amalgamated." H. Z., 1872, p. 218. The *Kyōbushō* retained its existence, however, and the Shintō situation was not affected.

3. T. A. S. J., XLII, Pt. I, pp. 34 ff.; *Phœnix* ("A Monthly Magazine for China, Japan, and Eastern Asia," London), Aug., 1872, p. 38; *id.* June, 1873 p 185.

4. T. A. S J., *op. cit.*, pp. 32-33.

army on European models,[1] the Western calendar was adopted (Jan. 1, 1873),[2] outcasts were admitted to citizenship, railroad, newspaper, mint, dock, and modern postal system appeared for the first time, and the Imperial University was established in Tokyo.[3] Along with other changes the religious policy of the government was broadened so as to make room for the more adequate control of all religious bodies, non-Shintō as well as Shintō. An effect of this policy was seen in the removal in 1873 of public proscriptions against Christianity.[4] It is noteworthy, however, that Shintō had not ceased to occupy the position of the cult of the Imperial Household, nor had the position of Shintō as the cult of the state itself been relinquished either in the temporary merging with Buddhism, or again, in the act which invested the control of both religions in the Bureau of Shrines and Temples. The special intimacy existing between Shintō and the Japanese state at the time is well shown in the efforts of the government to secure full control over the shrines and introduce order into their ceremonial.

One of the first problems that had confronted the new Japanese government, when once committed to a policy which united the affairs of the state with those of Shintō, was to introduce order into the confusion that had grown up in the control of the Shintō shrines during the long period of Buddhist dominance and state neglect. That the disorder in the shrine

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1. Phœnix, July, 1871, p. 15.

2. Phoenix, June, 1873, p. 187; T. A. S. J., Vol. XXXVII, pp 126-127.

3. T. A. S. J., Vol. XXII, Pt. II, p. 117; Phoenix, May, 1872, p. 192; Brinkley, *Japan, Its History Arts and Literature*, Vol. V, p. 88; *Lenaga*, Toyokichi, *The Constitutional Development of Japan* (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Hist. and Pol. Science, Ninth Series, 1891), pp. 44-48; Chamberlain, *Things Japanese* (1891), p. 221; Clement, E. W., *A Handbook of Modern Japan*, (Chicago, 1904), p 110.

4. *Cf. Annual Report of American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*, 1873 (Boston, Riverside Press), p. 72.

world was great is well attested by government legislation itself. The most conspicuous single cause of confusion was in the hereditary nature of the Shintō priesthood, a condition of things which had developed largely during the medieval period. Thereby the shrines had become practically the private property of the priests with the shrine revenues treated as personal income. The center of the problem from the standpoint of the government thus lay in breaking the hereditary priesthood of Shintō and in bringing the finances of the shrines completely under government control. The problem was solved by a noteworthy proclamation issued July 1, 1871, in which appears a clear indication of the confusion that had fallen upon the shrines and also a plain intimation of the intention of the government to utilize the shrines as a part of the regulative machinery of the state itself. The document says, "The affairs of the shrines are religious festivals pertaining to the nation and are not to be controlled by a single person or by a single family. Since the Middle Ages, owing to the degradation of right principles, the offices of the Shintō priesthood have become hereditary. While it is true that the inheritance of some priestly offices has been handed down from the Age of the Gods, yet for the most part priests have been merely appointed temporarily. Some have simply made this temporary title hereditary, while in other cases the affairs of the shrines have become hereditary owing to changes in land inspectors and district lords. Even the priestly office of small village shrines has become hereditary. The incomes of the shrines have been made family stipends and treated as private property. This widespread practice has continued so long that Shintō priests have come to form a different class from ordinary people and warriors. This does not agree with the present form of government which is the unity of religious affairs and the state. Owing to the greatness of the abuse a reform is now instituted: all priests from those of the hereditary priestly office of the Great Shrine of Ise down to the various priests of all the shrines of

the country hereafter shall be carefully selected and appointed. By Imperial order."[1]

The law abolishing the hereditary control of the priestly office was followed by a similar enactment directed toward the separation of public and private worship in Shintō. Thus the control of the ceremonies of the public shrines was lodged more firmly in the hands of the government itself. The law states: "Up to the present people have resorted in numbers to shrines and temples established on private premises and have worshipped there. This practice has a natural tendency to take on a form of public worship. This is wrong. All such worship is forbidden hereafter."[2]

The proclamation abolishing hereditary priesthood was accompanied by new regulations which classified all shrines according to a fixed grade. In this readjustment may be discerned again the attempt of the government to strengthen its control by the introduction of further order into the confusion that had come upon the shrines during the medieval period. The grades of shrines that now appear are: *Kampei Taisha*, "Government Shrines of Major Grade"; *Kampei Chūsha*, "Government Shrines of Middle Grade"; *Kampei Shōsha*, "Government Shrines of Lesser Grade"; *Bekkaku Kampeisha*, "Special Government Shrines"; *Kokuhei Taisha*, "National Shrines of Major Grade"; *Kokuhei Chūsha*, "National Shrines of Middle Grade"; *Kokuhei Shōsha*, "National Shrines of Lesser Grade"; *Fusha*, "Urban Prefectural Shrines"; *Hansha*, "Daimiate Shrines"; *Kensha*, "Prefectural Shrines"; and *Gōsha*, "District Shrines."[3] The grade of *Hansha* disappeared

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1. H. Z., 1871, p. 187, *Dajōkan* Order No. 234 July 1).

2. H. Z., 1876, p. 1320, *Kyōbushō* Order No. 38 (Dec. 15).

3. *Op. cit.* In the existing gradation of shrines the highest rank is occupied by the Grand Shrine of Ise which is considered to be outside of and above the shrine system proper, corresponding to the position of the Emperor in the political life of the nation. Next come the *Kampeisha* (官幣社), divided into

with the abolition of the *Han* in 1871, otherwise the classification has furnished the basis of shrine gradation right down to the present.

On April 13, 1875, uniform rituals and ceremonials for the Shintō shrines were established by law. The publication of these new forms for worship was accompanied by the following statement: "Confusion in the ceremonies of the shrines has continued from the Middle Ages. At the opening of the Restoration the Office for Shintō (*Jingikwan*) was established and the deterioration of the ancient ceremonies was with difficulty remedied and the revival thereof was promoted. The grade of the shrines of the entire country was established.....A fixed form of ceremony for use in presenting *heihaku* and

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the four classes listed above. The support and management of these shrines is under the direction of the central government. Funds for offerings are supplied by the Imperial Household. *Kokuheisha* (國幣社), divided into the three classes of major, middle, and lesser grades, are ranked on an equality with the *Kampeisha*. Like the latter they are supported by the central government. Funds for offerings are supplied from the national treasury. The prefectural governors participate in the great festivals. Only five *Kokuheisha* have been raised to the major grade of this class. Next below the *Kokuheisha* come the *Fukensha* (府縣社). Those which are in Tōkyō-fu, Kyōto-fu and Ōsaka-fu are called *Fusha*, while those in Hokkaidō and the prefectures are called *Kensha*. Funds for offerings are supplied from the prefectural treasuries. *Gōsha* (鄉社), are those shrines dedicated to the tutelary deities of a locality and have shrine-grade next below the *Fukensha*. Funds for offerings are supplied from the offices of cities and *gun* ("district," "county"). Below the *Gōsha* are the *Sonsha* (村社, "Village Shrines"), supported by the village communities, and, in addition to these, the *Mukakusha*, (無格社), shrines without shrine grade but which, nevertheless, are granted government recognition. *Shōkonsha* (招魂社), are a special class of shrines outside of the above gradation, in which are enshrined the spirits of those who have died in the military service of the state. The *Yasukuni* Shrine of Tokyo, the greatest of the *Shōkonsha*, is an exception in that it is classed as a Government Shrine of Special Grade. Miyao and Inamura list one hundred forty *Shōkonsha*. On the whole subject of shrine classification consult these authors in *Jinja Gyōseihō Kōgi* (宮尾誌 稻村貞文, 神社行政法講義, "Lectures on the Administrative Law of the Shrines," Tokyo, 1912, pp 62-105.

offerings[1] to the gods is now necessary. Accordingly, in obedience to the Imperial command and after investigating ancient usage as well as considering the needs of the present, a fixed form of ceremony has been determined upon. In this, that which is superfluous has been eliminated without sacrificing the true spirit of antiquity."[2] At the same time the great Shintō festivals were likewise fixed by law.

A further step toward the identification of political interests with the affairs of the shrines appeared in a regulation affecting the ceremonies of Government Shrines (*Kampeisha*) issued February 15, 1873. Prior to this date in case of the ceremonies

1. The text here reads, 幣帛の奠薦豆の享、*heihaku no ten hentō no kyō*, "the offering of *heihaku* (幣帛) and the presentation of *hentō* (薦豆." *Heihaku* and *hentō* are together translated "offerings." *Heihaku*, also read *mitegura*, *nigite*, *yū*, *nusa*, and *mainai*, refers to the strips of colored silk cloth, brocade, hemp, or paper hung before the *kami*. *Hentō* is a classical name for a form of receptacle in which general offerings were presented. In modern Shintō, *shinsen* (神饌) is used to designate the ordinary offerings placed before the altars of the *kami*. Such offerings consist of rice, *mochi*, *sake*, fish, birds, fruit, vegetables, salt, water, etc. The shrine laws speak of *shinsen heihaku ryō* (神饌幣帛料, "funds for offerings and *heihaku*." *Cf.* Miyao and Inamura, p. 535 ff.

2. H. Z., 1875, p. 827. The Shintō festivals now settled upon for Government and National Shrines were:

Kinen Sai (祈年祭), Festival of Prayer for the Year's Crops, Feb. 17.

Nii-name Matsuri or *Shinshō Sai* (新嘗祭), Harvest Festival (Festival of tasting the new rice), from the night of Nov. 23 to the morning of the 24.

Rei Sai (例祭), Grand local festival.

Genshi Sai (元始祭), Festival of Sacrifice to the Origin, Jan. 3.

Kōgetsurin Tōzanryō (*Kōmei Tennō*) *Yōhai* (後月輪東山陵 孝明天皇遙拜), Distant worship toward the place of burial of Emperor Kōmei.

Kigen Setsu (紀元節), Feb. 11, Festival of the anniversary of the accession of the first emperor, Jimmu Tennō, 660 B.C.

Unebiyama Tōhoku Sanryō (*Jimmu Tennō*) *Yōhai*, (畝傍山東北山陵 神武天皇遙拜), Distant worship toward the place of burial of Emperor Jimmu.

Ōharai (大祓), The Great Purification.

Kanname Sai (神嘗祭), Lit. "Gods-taste-festival"; festival of presentation of first fruits to the *Kami*, Oct. 17.

Kariden Senza (假殿遷座), Transfer of a deity to a temporary shrine.

Honden Senza (本殿遷座), Transfer of a deity to a permanent shrine H. Z., 1875, p. 829.

of all government shrines a representative had been sent from the Board of Ceremonies (*Shikibu Ryō*)[1] of the central government. From the above date on, the highest official of the local prefectural government has been sent to participate in the great festivals of Government Shrines. Thereby the affairs of the shrines have been made to contribute more directly to the centralization of the local political life of the nation. The law covering the matter declares, "Up to the present in case of the official festivals of Government Shrines an officer of the Board of Ceremonies has been sent to participate in the rites. Hereafter, with the exception of the Grand Shrine of Ise, the local governor shall participate in the official ceremonies of Government Shrines."[2]

Again by the year 1882 developments in popular religion had created a situation that necessitated further discriminating action on the part of the government. Various popular sects calling themselves Shintō and incorporating large portions of orthodox tradition, but at the same time involving departures from the official cult, were multiplying and seeking recognition by the state. As a means of meeting this situation, in the year just mentioned, the government divided Shintō institutions into two classes, *Jinja* ("Shintō shrines") on the one hand, and *Shintō Kyōkai* ("Shintō churches") on the other.[3] All institutions of the Shintō sects were given the

1. 式部寮

2. H. Z., 1873, p. 41, *Dajōkan* Order, No. 23 (Feb. 15).

3. A law dated May 15, 1882, reads: "It is announced that the following associations of Shintō are permitted to take independent denominational names as follows.

(Former title)		(New title)	
Shintō Jingū Ha,	神道神宮派、	*Jingū Kyōkai,*	神宮教會、
Shintō Taisha Ha,	神道大社派、	*Izumo Taisha Kyōkai,*	出雲大社教會、
Shintō Fusō Ha,	神道扶桑派、	*Fusō Kyōkai,*.....	扶桑教會、
Shintō Jikkō Ha,	神道實行派、	*Jikkō Kyōkai,*	實行教會、
Shintō Taisei Ha,	神道大成派、	*Honkyō Taisei Kyōkai,*	本教大成教會、
Shintō Shinshū Ha,	神道神習派、	*Shinshū Kyōkai,*	神習教會".

latter title and were debarred from using the former, which became exclusive government property.[1]

Dr. N. Ariga, a jurist of recognized scholarship, has interpreted the situation that lay back of this separation of Shintō institutions into two classes, in a manner that sheds considerable light on the Shintō problem as it was taking shape in the official mind at the time. From the point of view of the government the problem was as indicated in the following statement. "In the case of a civilized country there must exist freedom of faith. If Shintō is a religion, however, the acceptance or refusal thereof must be left to personal choice. Yet for a Japanese subject to refuse to honor the ancestors of the Emperor is disloyal. Indeed, a Japanese out of his duty

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The effect of this enactment was to change these bodies from more or less undefined sects (*Ha*) related with the official cult to definite independent religious associations *Kyōkai*. A law issued in March, 1885, says, "All cases of government recognition of religious organizations previously granted are now made invalid .....In seeking government recognition application must be made for new enrolment in the regulations for religious organizations." H. Z, 1885, p. 177.

The *Jingū Kyōkai*, connected with the Grand Shrine of Ise, was dissolved in 1899. Officially recognized Shintō churches at present number thirteen. In addition to the five remaining out of the above list, there are, *Shintō Honkyoku* (神道本局), *Shūsei Ha* (修成派), *Mitake Kyō* (御嶽教), *Misogi Kyō* (禊教), *Shinri Kyō* (神理教), *Kurozumi Kyō* (黑住教), *Konkō Kyō* (金光教), and *Tenri Kyō* (天理教). There are other Shintō churches which secure *de facto* recognition by being attached as sub-sects to recognized bodies. The total number of Shintō churches, both recognized and unrecognized, is difficult to determine with accuracy. There are numerous Shintō groups that are still in the condition of small private cults and some that maintain a secret organization. All of these bodies are distinct from the official shrines in internal organization, government administration and legal properties.

1. A notice issued by the *Shaji Kyoku* on April 17, 1888 reads "Inasmuch as a distinction is made between the religious associations of the (Shintō) churches and the shrines the attachment of the title of 'Shrine' to church associations is not only inappropriate but it also affects the incomes of the shrines. It should be known that this matter is covered in Art. 6 of Order No. 11, issued by this office in 1885, and it thus should be proper to infer that this is not permitted. Notice is hereby given by way of precaution." *Genkō Jinja Hōrei Ruisan*, p. 340.

as subject must honor the ancestors of the Emperor. This is not a matter of choice. It is a duty. Therefore this cannot be regarded as religion. It is ritual. It is the ceremonial of gratitude to ancestors. In this sense the government protects the shrines and does not expound doctrine. On the other hand since it is possible to establish doctrines with regard to the (Shintō) deities, it is necessary to permit freedom of belief in Shintō considered as a religion. Hence there has arisen the necessity of distinguishing between Shintō regarded as the functioning of national ritual and that Shintō which proclaims doctrines as a religion."[1]

In the same year we discern the beginning of an attempt to eliminate the popular religious nature of the most important shrines. A regulation of the Home Department promulgated on January 24th of this year reads, "From this date on the right of Shintō priests to exercise the function of teachers of religion and morals (*Kyōdō Shoku*) is abolished. Priests shall not take charge of funeral services. Exception: For the present, priests connected with shrines of prefectural rank or lower may do as before."[2] The exception to the regulation is such as to limit the scope of the altered status of the priesthood to the two highest grades of shrines, that is, to the Government Shrines and the National Shrines. These are precisely the shrines, however, which because of their national character are of most value to the state in the centralization of the sentiments of the people. The office of *Kyōdō Shoku* was finally abolished for all shrines two years later.[3] The right of Shintō priests connected

1. *Ariga*, Nagao, *Shintō Kokkyō Ron* (有賀長雄, 神道國教論, "Shintō as a State Religion") in *Tetsugaku Zasshi* (哲學雜誌) "Philosophical Magazine," Vol. 25, No. 280 (June, 1910), p. 702.

2. H. Z., 1882, p. 333.

3. The law says, "The office of *kyōdōshoku* is hereafter discontinued in Shintō and Buddhism. All affairs relating to the appointment or dismissal of the superiors of temples and the promotion or degradation of the rank of religious teachers are entrusted to the superintendent priest of each sect." H. Z., 1884, p. 142. The same law further provides that the number of superintendent priests

with shrines lower than those of government or national grades to conduct funeral services was not abrogated, however, and the practice exists in the present with legal recognition.

The Japanese government itself, in explanation of these changes says, "In 1884 the official appointment of religious instructors (*Kyō kōshoku*) was discontinued and the authority to appoint preachers was entrusted to the Head-priests (*Kwanchō*) of the various sects, Shintō or Buddhist, together with the right of selecting the resident priest (*Jūshoku*) for the temples under their jurisdiction. Further, each sect was given the power to manage its own affairs under the supervision of the government, which now relinquished its missionarizing function. *Religion was thus separated from politics.*"[1]

In 1899 and 1900 the Japanese government took the final steps in carrying out the policy of isolating the political and social values of Shintō. The government now attempted to provide a better legal basis for the position that official Shintō was not a religion, an interpretation that has been maintained in spite of all difficulties right up to the present. The priests of Ise prepared the way in 1899 by taking the ground that Shintō was merely a cult for the preservation of veneration for ancestors and the maintenance of historical continuity in Japanese society.[2] The Ise authorities made application to the government for the right to abandon their status as a religious body and become a secular juridical person (*zaidan hōjin*) with the

shall be limited to one for each sect of either Shintō or Buddhism. The federation of several sects under one superintendent priest is permitted.

1. *A General View of the Present Religious Situation in Japan*, p. 2. Pub. by the Bureau of Religions, Japanese Department of Education, 1920. (Italics in the quotation are mine, D.C.H.) This publication is an excellent example of the manner in which the division of all Shintō institutions into the two classes of shrines and churches facilitates an official exposition which, while assuming to be "a general view," almost entirely omits one of the most important elements in the entire situation. The shrines receive only sufficient mention to confuse the whole issue for one who is not previously acquainted with religious developments in modern Japan.

2. *Cf.* Japan Weekly Mail, Sept. 9, 1899, p. 261.

title *Jingū Hōsaikai*,[1] "The Reverence Society of Jingū." The request was granted on September 4, 1899.[2] Then under the new government regulation of 1900 the Bureau of Shrines and Temples was abolished and a *Jinja Kyoku*[3] ("Bureau of Shrines") and a *Shūkyō Kyoku*[4] ("Bureau of Religions") were established in the Department of Home Affairs. The former office was put in charge of the official cult, and the latter of Shintō sects, Buddhism and other religious bodies. A legal basis was thus provided for the interpretation that the official shrines were national institutions of an ethical and historical character, and places where all Japanese subjects should offer reverence. Expenses connected with upkeep were to be borne, wholly or in part, by the central, provincial or local governments. The ceremonies of official Shintō were nationalized as *koku rei*, "national rites."[5]

The laws of 1900 fixing the official line of demarcation that was to be drawn between the Shintō shrines and religious institutions as such appear in Imperial Ordinance (*Chokurei*), Number 163, April 26, 1900. This new statute embodies the reorganization of the Department of Home Affairs of the Japanese Government and details corrections and additions to be made to certain legislation found in Imperial Ordinance Number 259 of October 22, 1898. After these corrections and additions

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1. 神宮奉齋會

2. "On September 4 of the present year the establishment of the *Hōsaikai* of the Grand Shrine of Ise was permitted and at the same time the *Jingū Kyō* (religious association of the shrine) was abolished." Announcement of the Department of Home Affairs, No. 99, Sept. 5, 1899. *Genkō Jinja Hōrei Ruisan* (現行神社法令類纂, "Classified Collection of Contemporary Laws and Regulations for Shrines,") p. 669.

3. 神社局

4. 宗教局

5. Government directions covering reports from the Grand Shrine of Ise were published on Dec. 15, 1900. These directions classify the ceremonies of Ise under the heading *Kokurei* (國禮), "National Rites." *Genkō Jinja Hōrei Ruisan*, p. 670.

to the earlier enactments have been made, the laws relating to the divided control of Shintō shrines and of religion read as given in the following translations.

"Article I. The Minister of Home Affairs takes charge of matters relating to Shintō shrines, local administration, election of members of parliament, police, prisons, public works, sanitation, geographical matters, religion, publication, copyright, charity and relief. He is to superintend the Governor-general of Formosa, the Superintendent-general of Police, the Governor of Hokkaidō, and the provincial governors.

"Article IV. Sec. 1. The following seven Bureaus are established in the Department of Home Affairs:

1. Bureau of Shintō Shrines.
2. Bureau of Local Administration.
3. Bureau of Police.
4. Bureau of Public Works.
5. Bureau of Sanitation.
6. Bureau of Religions.
7. Bureau of Prisons.

Sec. 2. The Bureau of Shrines takes charge of the following matters:

a. Grand Shrines, Government Shrines, National Shrines, Prefectural Shrines, District Shrines, Village Shrines, *Shōkonsha* and all affairs pertaining to shrines.

b. All business relating to Shintō priests.[1]

"Article IX. The Bureau of Religions takes charge of the following matters:

a. All sects of Buddhism and Shintō, Buddhist temples, buildings used for religious purposes and also all affairs pertaining to religion.

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1. The law here divides Shintō priests into two classes: *Shinkan* (神官) and *Shinshoku* (神職). Both terms are translated "priest." The former refers to Shintō officials connected with the Grand Shrine of Ise, the latter to those connected with ordinary shrines.

b. All business relating to priests of Buddhism and to religious teachers."[1]

On June 13, 1913, the separation of official relations with the Shintō shrines, on the one hand, and religions, on the other, was still further widened by the transfer of the Bureau of Religions from the Department of Home Affairs to the Department of Education. Imperial Ordinance Number 173 of the above date in its pertinent sections reads:

"The following reorganization is effected within the Department of Education.

"Article I. The Minister of Education shall take charge of matters relating to education, science and arts, and religion.

"Article IV. The following three Bureaus are established within the Department of Education:

1. The Bureau of Special School Affairs.
2. The Bureau of Common School Affairs.
3. The Bureau of Religions.

"Article VI. The Bureau of Religions takes charge of the following matters:

1. Shintō sects, Buddhist sects, Buddhist temples, buildings used for religious purposes, and all affairs relating to religion.
2. Matters concerning the preservation and protection of ancient shrines and temples.
3. Matters concerning Buddhist priests and religious teachers.

"In the Bureau of Religions are established Section Number 1 and Section Number 2 which shall divide the business between them.

1. Section Number 1 takes charge of the following matters:

a. Sects of Shintō and of Buddhism, churches, priests, religious teachers, and all matters relating to religion.

1. H. Z., 1900, *Chokurei* (Imperial Ordinance) Section, pp. 197-198; *Kampō* (Official Gazette), April 27, 1900.

b. Business which does not come under the jurisdiction of Section 2.

2. Section Number 2 takes charge of the following matters:

a. Affairs concerning Buddhist edifices (temples and monasteries).

b. Affairs concerning the preservation and protection of ancient Shintō shrines and Buddhist temples."[1]

The religious changes of 1899-1900 are to be understood in the light of the general political situation of the time. In 1898-99 Japan was in the midst of a period of important readjustments of both internal and foreign relationships. In the earlier period of 1871-72, as already mentioned, the nation had begun the difficult task of internal reorganization necessary to the utilization of domestic resources in such a way as to compel recognition on the part of foreign powers—a task in which, as Murdoch well points out Japan was confronted with the alternatives of assimilating occidental civilization or of going down before it.[2] Now in the latter period, as proof of the skill of her statesmanship and the thoroughness of her mastery of the technique of the West, Japan, after a successful war with China, arrived at complete self-determination among the nations of the world, an object that had been struggled for with repeated failure from the time of the Iwakura mission to Europe and America in 1871.[3] Now with a series of agreements, lying between the date of the Treaty of London of July 16, 1894, and the promulgation of the revised treaties of the summer of 1899, Japan at last attained full judicial and tariff autonomy.[4] During the period several

1. H. Z., 1913 *Chokurei* Section, pp. 255-6.

2. Murdoch, James, *History of Japan* (Kobe, 1910), Vol. I, p. 23.

3. Japan Weekly Mail, Oct. 8, 1887, pp. 352-3. Official instructions to the governors issued Sept. 28, 1887 contain the words, "Since the late Iwakura was sent abroad as ambassador in 1871, treaty revision has always remained our unmovably fixed object." T. A. S. J., Vol. XLII, Pt. I, p. 329.

4. Japan Weekly Mail, July 8, 1899, pp. 27, 36-37; July 29, pp. 107, 110; Aug. 5, p. 130; Aug. 12, pp. 161-2.

new ports were opened for foreign trade, and by the beginning of the autumn of 1899 rights of free residence outside of the established zones were open to all foreigners in Japan.[1]

The Japanese government was now in a position to deal more adequately with the religious situation. In the Constitution promulgated February 11, 1889, Article XXVIII had been so framed as to guarantee religious liberty to every Japanese citizen, provided that the exercise thereof was not prejudicial to the welfare of the realm and not antagonistic to the duty of subjects.[2] The preservation of this guarantee was of course eminently befitting the nation that was now just stepping out into full internal autonomy. But exactly at this point an important difficulty presented itself. While, on the one hand, a modernizing tendency in the government seemed to demand that the state should not foster an established religion, yet, on the other hand, the government was in no position to repudiate the mighty support of Shintō, for just here, in the official point of view lay an important element in the assimilative strength of the Japanese people. Hence the official separation of the Shintō shrines from acknowledged religious institutions and the consequent interpretation that Shintō is not a religion. The separation has made it possible for the Japanese government to announce that the administrative policy affecting the Shintō shrines "is quite independent of the policy that concerns itself with religions."[3]

Thus by an alleged elimination of the religious character of the official shrines, the way was opened for them to function for all Japanese subjects as state institutions, in the preservation of the continuity of Japanese history and in the stimulation of loyalty and patriotism. The government was placing itself in a position to repudiate the charge of fostering a state religion and at the same time exercise complete jurisdiction over the shrines and gain the support of the great, stabilizing values which they were

1. Japan Weekly Mail, June 17, 1899, p. 592; July 22, 1899, p. 88.
2. T. A. S. J., Vol. XLII. Pt. I, p. 138.
3. *A General View of the Present Religious Situation in Japan*, p. 2.

regarded as introducing into Japanese society. The action of the government was based on the recognition of an intimate connection between loyalty, or national morality, and reverence offered at the shrines. As nucleating centers of the popular sentiments directed toward a line of emperors descended from the gods and toward all apotheosized national heroes, they were indispensable in the conservation and development of the Japanese spirit. Subsequent events have proved that this "act of disestablishment" did not mark a decline in the fortunes of Shintō. The government was carefully preserving all that was of real value to the state.

Not only has there been no disestablishment of Shintō, but, on the other hand, the intimacy of relationship existing between the Japanese government and the cult of the shrines has increased steadily since 1900. Evidence in support of this statement is given below.

In 1902 the Japanese government published detailed regulations concerning the rank, appointment, duties and support of the priests attached to all government and national shrines as follows:

"Regulations Concerning the Duties of Priests of Government Shrines and National Shrines." (Imperial Ordinance Number 27, February 10, 1902. Revised under Imperial Ordinance Number 174, May, 1911).

"Article I. The following grades of priests are hereby established in Government and in National Shrines:

Gūji[1] (Chief priest), one to each shrine.

Gongūji (Sub-chief priest), one to each shrine. This office is to be limited to the Grand Government Shrines of Atsuta and Idzumo.

Negi (Priest) one to each shrine.

Shuten (Lower priests). This office is limited to the Grand Government Shrine of Atsuta.

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1. 宮司, *Gūji*; 權宮司, *Gongūji*; 禰宜, *Negi*; 主典, *Shuten*; 宮掌, *Gūshō*.

Gūshō (Lower priests).

Note: The number of *Shūten* and *Gūshō* shall be fixed by the Minister of Home Affairs.

"Article II. The chief priest shall be under the direction and inspection of the Minister of Home Affairs and of the local governors. He shall officiate in national festivals, direct ceremonies, and manage general affairs.

"Article III. The sub-chief priest shall assist the chief priest in ceremonies and in general affairs.

"Article IV. The *Negi* shall engage in ceremonies and in general affairs under the direction and inspection of the chief priest and the sub-chief priest.

"Article V. The *Shuten* and the *Gūshō* shall engage in ceremonies and general affairs under the direction of the higher priests.

"Article VI. In case of failure to discharge his duties on the part of the chief priest, the sub-chief priest shall take his place in such shrines as have the office of sub-chief priest; for other shrines the *Negi* shall take the place of the chief priest.

"Article VII. The chief priests and sub-chief priests are to be accorded the treatment of *Sōnin*[1] officials and are to be appointed by the Cabinet subject to the approval of the Emperor made through the Minister of Home Affairs. *Negi*, *Shuten*, and *Gūshō* are to be accorded the treatment of *Hannin*[2] officials and are to be appointed by the prefectural governors.

"Article VIII. Salaries are to be attached to the priestly offices of Government and National Shrines. The Minister of Home Affairs, however, may treat the offices of chief priest and sub-chief priest as honorary posts, and the prefectural governors may do the same for the offices of *Negi*, *Shuten*, and *Gūshō*.

"Article IX. The Minister of Home Affairs shall fix the

1. 奏任, rank of officials appointed subject to the approval of the Emperor.

2. 判任, rank of officials appointed by the chiefs of the various departments, bureaus, or offices. *Chokunin* 勅任 rank mentioned below refers to direct Imperial appointment.

regulations regarding the service, the salaries, and the travelling expenses of the priests of Government and of National Shrines.

"Article X. The powers exercised by the Minister of Home Affairs and by the local governors in these regulations, in the case of the relations with the priests of the *Yasukuni* Shrine, a government shrine of special grade, shall be exercised by the Ministers of War and of Naval Affairs."[1]

In July and August of 1891, the year following the promulgation of the Imperial Rescript on Education, laws had appeared dealing with the duties of priests divided into two general classes, first, those connected with shrines of prefectural grade and below (laws of July), and, second, those attached to Government and National Shrines (laws of August).[2] These laws in slightly revised form were republished in 1913 and made to apply to all priests of Shintō without exception. The laws read as in the subjoined translation.

"Order Number 9, Department of Home Affairs, April 21, 1913.

"Article I. Priests have the functions of conducting national ceremonies in accordance with national ritual. Therefore they should be masters of national classics, they should understand the national constitution, and should at all times discharge their duties with exemplary behavior.

"Article II. The ceremonies (of the shrines) establish a standard for national morality. Accordingly they should center in dignified reverence, and should give sincere expression to the sentiment of gratitude toward ancestors (*Hōhon han shi*).[3]

"Article III. Ritual must be carried out according to regulations. Only under extraordinary circumstances is it permitted to change the order at will or to abbreviate the time. On the other hand they are to follow the ancient ceremonies and are to be appropriate to the historical usage of the local shrine.

1. *Genkō Jinja Hōrei Ruisan*, pp. 159-160.
2. H. Z., 1891, p. 206.
3. 報本反始

"Article IV. In case special festivals take place notification must be given to the Chief of the Police Bureau in whose jurisdiction the shrine is located, and in case of Government and National Shrines an additional notification must be sent to the local governor.

"Article V. It is forbidden to distribute charms to others than the parishioners of the tutelary deities and to worshippers. On request, however, they may be granted to others."[1]

Miyao and Inamura in their discussion of shrine law make the following observations on the relations of high civil officials to the shrines ceremonies.

"1. On the occasion of either the Festival of Prayer for the Year's Crops or the Harvest Festival at both National Shrines and Government Shrines, an officer of the local government visits the shrines and makes offerings to the *Kami*, and the chief priest recites *norito*. There is no purification ceremony.

"2. The local governor attends the great Festival of a Government Shrine and recites *norito*. The Purification Ceremony is performed.

"3. The vice-governor attends the Great Festival of a National Shrine and participates in the ceremonies. The High Priest recites *norito*. There is no ceremony of purification.

"4. In the ordinary festivals of the *Kankoku heisha* in all cases the High Priest recites *norito* and there is no purification ceremony."[2]

1. *Genkō Jinja Hōrei Ruisan*, p. 212.

2. Miyao and Inamura, *op. cit*, p. 508.

An excellent illustration of the special relation existing between the Japanese government and the shrines is to be found in regulations regarding the ceremonies of the *Yasukuni* Shrine of Tokyo. The Official Gazette (*Kampō*) for Apr. 26, 1921, p. 803 says, "On account of the Special Grand Ceremonies at the *Yasukuni* Shrine all military and naval officials, all military divisions, and all students shall have a holiday on the twenty-eighth of this month. All government officials of Tokyo apart from those of the army and navy shall observe either the twenty-eighth or the twenty-ninth as a holiday. By Imperial Order."

Up to May 1, 1907 Shintō priests were under special disciplinary regulations. From this date on they came under the disciplinary regulations of ordinary civil officials of the Japanese government. Shintō priests were hereby more closely identified with the government and the treatment accorded them was distinguished clearly from that of ordinary religious teachers and preachers. The law says:

"Concerning the discipline (of Shintō priests) in accordance with the treatment granted civil officials,—except in case of those who are under special regulations, those priests who receive the treatment of higher officials shall come under the regulations applying to higher officials in the Ordinance for the Discipline of Civil Officials, while those priests who receive the treatment of *Hannin* officials shall come under the regulations applying to *Hannin* officials in the same Ordinance.

"Appendix: This ordinance shall become effective from the date of promulgation.

"This abolishes the regulations for the discipline of Shintō priests and also Imperial Ordinance Number 349 of 1899."[1]

The disciplinary regulations under which Shintō priests now come are as given below.

"Ordinance for the discipline of civil officials (abstract),

"Chapter I. General Regulations.

"Article I. With the exception of officials who are ap-

Cabinet Notification No. 2. And again, "On account of the Special Grand Ceremonies of the *Yasukuni* Shrine, officials of the Imperial Household residing in Tokyo shall observe either the twenty-eighth or the twenty ninth as a holiday. By Imperial Order." Imperial Household Department, Notification No. 9. Directions for ceremonies specify attendance by representatives of the Imperial Family, ministers of state, including the Minister of War and the Minister of the Navy, the President of the House of Peers, the President of the House of Representatives, princes, the Superintendent General of the Metropolitan Police, the Governor of Tokyo-fu, representatives of the various grades of nobility, of the Department of War, of the Department of the Navy, of each government bureau, of the Imperial Guards, of the First Division, of the members of the House of Peers and of the House of Representatives.

1. *Genkō Jinja Hōrei Ruisan*, p. 229.

pointed directly by the Emperor and also those who are under special regulations, no civil officials shall be disciplined except under these regulations.

"Article II. Cases in which officials are to be disciplined are as follows:

1. Contravention of duties of office or neglect thereof.
2. Actions, whether in public or private life, which compromise the dignity or trust of official position.

"Article III. Discipline may take the following forms:

1. Dismissal from office.
2. Reduction of salary.
3. Reprimand.

"Article IV. Those who are dismissed from office shall not be able to enter government service again for two years from the date of dismissal. In case of serious offense it is required that court rank be returned.

"Article V. The period of reduction of salary is to be for not longer than one year and for not less than one month. The amount of reduction is to be at the rate of not more than one third of the monthly salary.

"Article VI. In case of officials of *Chokunin* rank matters of dismissal and reduction of salary must be according to the decision of the Disciplinary Committee and must be submitted to the Throne by the Prime Minister and shall become effective subject to the sanction of the Emperor. In case of officials of *Sōnin* rank dismissal must be according to the decision of the Disciplinary Committee, must pass through the hands of the Prime Minister and must be submitted to the Throne by the head of the office concerned and shall become effective subject to the sanction of the Emperor.

"The reduction of salary of officials of *Sōnin* rank and matters of both dismissal and reduction of salary of officials of *Hannin* rank shall be according to the decision of the Disciplinary Committee and shall be put into effect by the head of the office concerned. Reprimand shall be by the head of the office concerned.

"Article VII. The Disciplinary Committee may not take up for consideration a case of discipline which is still in process of litigation in the criminal courts." [1]

The above regulations, it is to be noted, are in no way concerned with ordinary criminal procedure. They are designed purely for the sake of control and efficiency inside the government offices themselves, and the inclusion of Shintō priests herein is an expression of the unique status which the government would attach to these "ritualists." Ordinary religious teachers are completely outside of this classification.

State regulations governing shrine finances are minute. A study of the sources of income throws some light on relations between the shrines and the government as well as on relations with the worshipping community. The official regulations concerning financial reports from Government and National Shrines is fixed in a form issued January 16, 1908 as Order Number 1 of the Department of Home Affairs. The designated sources of income are:

"I. Appropriations from the national treasury.

"II. Appropriations for offerings and *Heihakuryō*.

"III. Income through the shrine proper.

(1). Income from offerings, etc.

a. Income from the sale of charms and amulets.

b. Voluntary cash offerings.

c. Offerings in kind (*sake*, food, etc.), offerings of the first fruits of rice.

d. Income from saying of prayers.

e. Contributions for lighting.

f. Charges for placing pictures in front of shrines.

Etc., Etc.

(2). Income from the shrine precincts.

a. Ground rentals.

b. Sale of withered or injured trees.

Etc., Etc.

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 228-9.

(3). Income from lands outside the shrine precincts.
  a. Land rentals.
  b. House rentals.
  c. Sale of timber and bamboo.
  Etc., Etc.

(4). Income from forests which are entrusted to the supervision of the shrine.

(5). Miscellaneous receipts derived from,
  a. Interest on money in deposit.
  b. Sale of unneeded properties.
  c. Exhibition of treasures.
  Etc., Etc.

"IV. Designated contributions." [1]

The relation of the Japanese state to the fiscal items of the above outline is indicated in the laws given below.

"The expenses of Government and National Shrines shall be defrayed from the national treasury. The amount of money apportioned to each shrine shall be determined by the Minister of Home Affairs." [2]

For shrines of lower grade the regulations are given in Imperial Ordinance Number 96, April 26, 1906, as follows:

"Article I. The expenses of offerings for shrines (*shinsen heihakuryō*) may be met by the prefectural government for prefectural shrines, and by the county and city governments for district shrines. The shrines which may receive funds to defray the expenses of offerings shall be designated by the prefectural governors."

"Article II. The Minister of Home Affairs shall determine the amount of money that shall be given toward offerings stated in Article I.

"Article III. Regulations concerning offerings for prefectural, district and village shrines which are located in Hokkaidō, in Okinawa, or in any other district where there are no municipal

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 431-433.
2. H. Z., 1906, Vol. 2, p. 61, *Naimushō* Order No. 24 (April 6).

and village organizations are to be decided by the Minister of Home Affairs."[1]

The above evidence of legal enactments showing the remarkable extent to which the nationalization of the shrines has been carried out has additional corroboration in official statements wherein the determination to utilize the ideas and practices associated with the shrines as the nexus of national unification is either directly stated or clearly implied. A document found in the records of the Tokyo Prefectural Office under the date of October 31, 1908, explicitly announces the official point of view. The document is evidently a transcription on to the prefectural records of a general order from the Central Imperial Government and may be taken as intended for all shrines throughout the country, of the grades indicated. It was directed to the Shintō priests themselves. In translation the order reads:

"To Government, Prefectural, Town, Village, and Ungraded Shrines. Reverence (*Keishin*)[2] is a special characteristic of our nation. It may be taken as a hopeful sign that people throughout the country have recently begun various public, cooperative enterprises centering in the shrines and also that various educational and moral agencies have been organized in relation to the shrines. It is likewise a matter for rejoicing that there are numerous cases in which the cooperation and improvement of the people has been encouraged and promoted with vows before the gods and thus aid has been given both to public morality and to the administration of the people.

"As for the future, it is now desired that the essence of our national life (*kokutai*)[3] and the glory of our national history be exalted by developing the spirit of reverence and furthermore that the shrines be utilized in promoting the unification and

1. H. Z., 1906, Vol. 1, p. 196

2. 敬神

3. 國體, "national constitution," "national life," "national organization"—the political and social organization expressive of the characteristic traditions and psychology of the people.

administration of the country. These matters have a direct relation to the Imperial Edict which was issued on the thirteenth day of the present month and Shintō priests should give great attention hereunto."[1]

One of the most noteworthy orders relating to the shrines is that affecting public schools. In 1911 Mr. *Komatsubara* Eitarō, Minister of Education under the second Katsura cabinet, issued orders that school teachers should conduct their pupils in a body to public shrines, and that there they should do obeisance before the altars. The original order appears to have taken the form of *Naikun*, or secret instructions, to the chiefs of the departments of internal affairs of the various prefectural governments and was handed on from these offices to the various schools. In translation the order reads:

"Concerning visitation at Local Shrines on the Occasion of Festivals. The sentiment of reverence (*keishin*) is correlative

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1. *Tōkyō-fu Kunrei* (Tokyo Urban Prefecture Orders), No. 45, Oct. 31, 1908. The Imperial Rescript referred to is the "Rescript on Thrift and Diligence," otherwise known as the *Boshin* Rescript.

Upon comparing the contents of the rescript with the above order to the Shintō priests, it would appear that the government was now giving orders that the shrines should be utilized as agencies for the correction of dangerous tendencies in thought and practice that appeared in the wake of the Russo-Japanese war. The main body of the rescript says, "Our country, which has but recently emerged from sanguinary war, calls for activities in various branches of administration. We desire all classes of Our people to act in unison, to be faithful to their callings, frugal in the management of their households, submissive to the dictates of conscience and calls of duty, frank and sincere in their manners, to abide by simplicity and avoid ostentation, and to inure themselves to arduous toil without yielding to any degree of indulgence.

"The teachings of Our revered Ancestors and the record of our glorious history are clear beyond all misapprehension. By scrupulous observance of the precepts thus established, and by directing assiduous and unwearied exertions, the growing prosperity of Our Empire is assured. In the face of the actual situation, We hope that, with the co-operation of Our loyal subjects, the noble work of the Restoration may be augmented and the benevolent virtue of Our Ancestors exalted. Our subjects should appreciate the high aspiration with which we are uniformly guided." *Japan Year Book*, 1911, p. 496. *Cf. Kampō*, Oct. 14, 1908, p. 343.

with the feeling of respect for ancestors and is most important in establishing the foundations of national morality. Accordingly, on the occasion of the festivals of the local shrines of the districts where the schools are located, the teachers must conduct the children to the shrines and give expression to the true spirit of reverence. Also, either before or after the visit to the shrines the teachers should give instruction to the children concerning reverence in order that they may be made to lay it deeply to heart. This is announced by government order."[1]

A further statement containing important evidence bearing on the official estimate of the political value of Shintō shrines is found in an address to the Shintō priests by Dr. *Midzuno* Rentarō, who at the time of the publication of the utterance in May 1918, was Minister of State for Home Affairs. The address in part says: "The shrines are the unique institutions of our nation. They are the essence of our national organization.[2] They are inseparably related to the state. Thus, the great shrines must become the centers of our nation, while the small shrines must become the centers of the life of villages and hamlets. On these grounds I have advocated the doctrine of the centrality of the shrines. That is to say, the shrines must become the centers of education, of industry, and of self-government; they must become the centers of activity in all directions. . . . . The unique feature of our national organization lies in the system of the shrines. This system is well nigh without parallel in foreign countries and I have always maintained that the faith of the people in the state as well as in the Imperial House grows deeper in proportion as the system of the shrines is made more and more nearly complete. The sentiment of

1. From the *Tōkyō-fu Naimu Buchō Tsūchō* (東京府内務部長通牒, "Notifications of the Chief of the Department of Internal Affairs of the Tokyo Urban Prefecture"), dated September, 1911, appearing in the *Monbushō Kunrei, Fureiki no Bu* (文部省訓令, 府令規之部, "Regulations of the Department of Education, Section on Prefectural Ordinances"), Ch. 3, Ordinary Education. Primary Schools, p. 32 (2). The regulation is still in effect (1921).

2. 國體の精華

patriotism may be found in all lands. Also, the idea of loyalty exists in all places. The sentiment of reverence, however, is the distinctive trait of Japan. To be sure, the idea of reverence directed toward the deities of religion, taken in the sense of a sentiment of religion, probably exists in all foreign countries also, but I am of the opinion that the sentiment as directed toward the deities of our Japanese Shintō shrines is probably unique to our country. Reverence, patriotism and loyalty, these three, are in reality but one. The sentiments of loyalty and patriotism must take their rise from reverence.

"Subsequent to the development of institutions relating to the divine ancestors of the Imperial House and the shrines, which are a unique feature of Japan, the idea of country first made its appearance and the idea of sovereign was born. Consequently, in order to inculcate the sentiments of loyalty and patriotism, first of all the idea of reverence must be propagated. The propagation of the idea of reverence is a matter that relates to our educational system also, but in the main it is the business of you Shintō priests."[1]

Statements such as those just given are not infrequently accompanied by an official repudiation of the religious nature of the national cult. Mr. *Tsukamoto* Seiji, writing in 1918 in his capacity as Chief of the Bureau of Shrines of the Department of Home Affairs, gives a clear-cut statement of the government position in this matter. At the same time Mr. Tsukamoto's discussion furnishes us with an excellent summary of the special relations existing between the Shintō shrines and the Japanese state, which have been passed under review in the laws already considered. Mr. Tsukamoto says:

"In discussing the matter of shrine institutions it is necessary first of all to state that the shrines are not organs of religion. It appears well-nigh impossible for foreigners, who do not under-

1.—*Midzuno*, Rentarō, *Shinshoku no Sekimu, Jinja ni Kansuru Kōen* (水野錬太郎, 神官の責務 神社に関する講演 "The Responsibilities of Priests," "Lectures on the Shrines," Tokyo, 1918), pp. 11-13.

stand the organization of our nation, to comprehend this point. This misunderstanding is not confined to foreigners. Even among Japanese there are those who needlessly confuse the shrines with religion. Furthermore, the number of scholars who interpret the shrines as places where religious ceremonials are conducted, is not small. It is highly regrettable that on this account the feelings of the people are stirred up from time to time over the sentiment of reverence. It is not my intention here to consider the sentiment of reverence from a philosophical point of view and attempt to determine whether or not it contains religious ideas. It may be asseverated without the least hesitancy, however, that from the standpoint of national law the shrines are not organs of religion. Attestation of this fact may be found both in national management and in law.

"In the first place, the affairs of the Shintō shrines were formerly managed in connection with the administration of religion by the *Shajikyoku* ("Bureau of Shrines and Temples") in the Department of Home Affairs. In 1900 a division was made and the Bureau of Shrines and the Bureau of Religions were established. Subsequently, the Bureau of Religions was transferred to the Department of Education. It does not follow, however, that the shrines were first regarded as non-religious institutions at the time of the consummation of this division. They were regarded as non-religious prior to this. Theoretically it would not be impossible to administer the affairs of religion and also the affairs of the shrines, which are not religious, in one and the same office which might be known as the Bureau of Religions. Again, it is likewise wrong to argue that if the affairs of the shrines are administered in a Bureau of Religions, the shrines are consequently religious in nature. Nevertheless it is only natural that there should be anxiety lest misunderstandings should only deepen owing to the administration in the Bureau of Religions of affairs that are easily confused with religion. The solution of this difficulty was unquestionably

the main reason why finally the Bureau of Shrines was separated from the Bureau of Religions and made independent."

"In the second place, formerly the rules and regulations relating to the shrines began with general principles of management for shrines and temples, and cases were numerous in which notices and proclamations were issued in common for Shintō shrines and Buddhist temples. It came to be recognized, however, that since the essential natures of the Shintō shrines and Buddhist temples are greatly different and since their relations to the nation are altogether dissimilar it was not only wrong but quite impossible to govern them with identical rules and regulations. On this account from some decades past there has been a gradual separation of the two, and now, with one or two exceptions, they are altogether under independent rules and regulations. Furthermore, the ceremonials and business relating to Shintō shrines as well as matters of management and finance are all fixed by national law. This is because the ceremonials of the shrines are national rituals and the business of the shrines is the business of the state. On the other hand, the business of the various religious sects of Buddhist temples and of churches is of course managed according to the independent determinations of the several bodies concerned. It is not a matter in which the state participates and is thus not the business of the nation.

"In the third place, those who serve in the Shintō shrines are officials of the state, although their rank differs according to the grade of the shrine. H.I.H., the Lord Custodian of the Great Shrine of Ise is appointed as the representative of His Majesty, the Emperor. He receives the treatment of an official directly appointed by the Emperor and is in a special class. The other officers of the Great Shrine of Ise are of *Chokunin*, *Sōnin*, or *Hannin* rank. Also the officials serving in Government Shrines and National Shrines receive the treatment of *Sōnin* or *Hannin* officials. That is to say, all have a relation to the state and all are officials who take charge of state affairs.

Consequently, procedure as to their appointment and dismissal is exactly the same as for general government officials. In accordance with their official rank some are under ministers of state while others are under the prefectural governors, but in spite of difference, the appointment and dismissal of all are matters of national concern. On the other hand, the administrative heads of the different sects of Shintō and Buddhism as well as the teachers of other religions do not have duties that pertain to state affairs and consequently they are not officials of the state. . . . .

"Upon consideration of the above three points, not only will it be apparent that from the standpoint of law there is a conspicuous difference between the relationship of the state to the Shintō shrines and to the various sects of religion, but also, I believe, there should be no room for doubt that from the standpoint of the organization of the state the shrines are not regarded as institutions of religion."[1]

The attempt to come to closer terms with these official claims must be postponed to a later point in the investigation. Meanwhile, in partial summation of the discussion up to the present point it may be said, that the real reason for the government's isolation of the control of official Shintō and the consequent "separation of religion from politics" is not to be found in any a priori conviction of the non-religious nature of the shrine ceremonies, as Mr. Tsukamoto would have us believe, but rather, in the exigences of historical situations that have made it imperative from the official point of view that the government should not appear before the world to be fostering a state religion but at the same time should retain absolute control over the Shintō shrines.

The extent of the expansion of Shintō as a national cult during the Meiji and Taishō eras may be deduced from a

1.—*Tsukamoto*, Seiji, *Jinja Gyōsei ni Kansuru Chūi Jikō* (塚本清治, 神社行政に關する注意事項, "Matters to be Heeded Regarding the Administration of the Shrines,") *Jinja ni Kansuru Kōen*, pp. 19-22.

comparative study of the annual government reports of the statistics for shrines, perhaps even more concretely than from an examination of the national laws themselves. Reference to the statistical tables[1] will show that while the reported totals for small shrines of village and ungraded classes have decreased since 1900, the year in which the official control of the shrines was separated from that of ordinary religions, (from a maximum number of 192,332 for 1900 to 111,181 for 1920, a decrease of 81,151), yet for all shrines of superior grade there has been a steady increase. Since 1899 twelve shrines have been added to the class of government shrines; national shrines have been maintained at 75; while prefectural shrines have increased by 189, making a total increase of 201. During the forty years lying between 1880 and 1920 government shrines have increased by the number of 50, national shrines by 7, prefectural shrines by 316, a total increase for all shrines of these grades of 373. This is an average of slightly better than nine large shrines per year. The yearly totals for district shrines have maintained practical uniformity throughout the entire period. A movement which, during the past four decades has increased the reported number of large institutions of highest grade by a total of three hundred and seventy-three is far from moribund. Also, the decrease in the number of smaller shrines is more apparent than real. Small way-side shrines are not included in the official reports. Since 1888 the government has ceased including in the statistics the small ungraded shrines established within the precincts of larger shrines. The total of these subordinate ungraded shrines for 1887 was 102,463. The apparent decrease in the number of ordinary village and ungraded shrines can be explained by the fact that in numerous cases the control of small groups of these shrines has been merged.

The statistics for priests tell the same story as do those for shrines. The total number of priests connected with district, village and ungraded shrines has decreased during the past

1. See below, pp. 324-5.

twenty years, although since 1915 the tendency in all these classes has been to maintain equilibrium with an average of 3417 priests for district shrines, 8682 for village shrines and 926 for ungraded shrines. As over against this the number of priests connected with shrines of prefectural grade and above increased from 1345 in 1880 to 1707 in 1919, a total gain of 362.

The figures given above support the proposition that the primary interests of the national cult lie in the direction of the development of those shrines above village and ungraded classes which aid in the centralization of the sentiments and activities of the people beyond purely local interests. On the basis of the statistics it would seem fair to conclude that Shintō as a national cult has been steadily and solidly growing during the past forty years and that this growth has been distributed with a fair degree of uniformity over the entire period.

CHAPTER II.

The Shrine Problem.

The Japanese government has recently become an object of considerable criticism because of its alleged efforts to strengthen Japanese nationalism and political solidarity by encouraging a form of nationalistic religious worship at the shrines. Criticism has come not only from Buddhist and Christian sources, as might well be expected, but also from progressive politicians, journalists and scholars among the Japanese people themselves. The grounds of this criticism may be summarized under three heads.

I. In the first place, the Shintō shrines in their actual, historical character are true religious institutions and have always been treated as such by the Japanese people. It is impossible to separate the shrines from their historical character by the proclamation of new official regulations. In the opening years of Meiji the Japanese government itself recognized and concurred in the existing popular estimate of the shrines. The legislation of 1872 which makes explicit declaration to the effect that the main duty of Shintō priests "shall be the instruction of parishioners in accordance with the three principles" can be adequately explained only on the ground that the government of the time classified Shintō as pure religion.

Again, a judgement based on the actual practice of the vast majority of the Japanese people of all classes must embody the conclusion that the Shintō shrines are not popularly regarded simply as patriotic cult centers where the memory of those who have contributed meritorious service to the Japanese state is revered and where emotions of gratitude to heroes of the past and loyalty to existing institutions are stimulated. On the other hand, the same shrine that serves as site for the official ceremony is visited by the ordinary worshipper out of purely religious

motives and the enshrined spirit, whether regarded as an ancestor of the race or as one of the "gods of Heaven and Earth" is supplicated for prosperity in business, for health and long life, for offspring in marriage, for relief in drought, flood and famine, for food, clothing and shelter, as well as for the prosperity of the state and success in war. The shrines are thus not merely inspiring monuments to the greatness of the past; they are the sacred places of Japanese religion where unique access is gained to an unseen spirit-world.

The Japanese government by licensing the sale of charms at the shrines recognizes and makes concessions to this popular interpretation. The shrine laws declare on this point: "Shintō priests in compliance with the requests of the people may distribute charms and sacred images[1] but this must not be done out of covetousness and impure motives."[2]

One of the most vigorous criticisms of the ambiguous religious situation in which the Japanese government is thus involved has been published by the Shin sect of Japanese Buddhism in a propaganda pamphlet entitled *Keishin Mondai Chōsa Hōkoku*[3] ("Report of an Investigation of the Problem of Reverence"), dated December, 1920. In November, 1919, the Mikawa Association of the Shin sect drew up a series of three questions relating to the Shintō policy of the government and presented it to the Department of Home Affairs. The interrogations read:

"1. According to our interpretation the essential nature of reverence for deities and respect for ancestors,[4] which for some years past have been propagated among the people of the nation, is limited to the sense of gratitude. But is not this a misconception on our part? Is there some other meaning to be attached thereto?

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1. 神符神像.
2. H. Z., 1891, pp. 187, 206, *Naimushō Kunrei* No. 12, Art. 3, July 6.
3. 敬神問題調査報告, 岡崎市中町三河別院.
4. 敬神崇祖.

"2. There are people who regard the *taima*[1] of the shrines as images of the deities, and who say that those who do not receive *taima* are unpatriotic. In our sect we look upon the *taima* as religious charms.[2] We base the interpretation that receiving them is a voluntary matter on Ordinance Number 30, issued by the Department of Home Affairs in March 1878.[3] Is this an error on our part?

"3. Home Department Order Number 7, B, issued in January, 1882, states, "From this date on the right of Shintō priests to exercise the functions of teachers of religion and morals (*Kyōdō Shoku*) is abolished. Priests shall not take charge of funeral services. Exception: For the present priests connected with shrines of prefectural rank or lower may do as before." Since the promulgation of this order already more than thirty years have elapsed and yet priests of shrines of prefectural grade and below conduct funeral services as in the earlier period. What then is the purport of the law just cited which distinguishes between Shintō priests and teachers of religion and morals?"[4]

The government in reply is reported to have made the significant statement: "These are matters on which instructions cannot be given in writing. If, however, you come to the capital we will make oral reply."[5]

This oral statement was not given until October 9, 1920. On this date the Chief of the Bureau of Shrines replied to a committee of the Shin Sect as follows:

"1. If reverence for the deities and respect for ancestors have in them harm for the nation, then nothing can be done; if,

1. 大麻.

2. 神符, *Shimpu.*

3. The law referred to says, "It is hereby announced that, with regard to the *taima* of the *Jinjā*, from now on, irrespective of the relations with local officials, the acceptance or rejection thereof is to rest entirely with the choice of the people." Department of Home Affairs, March 23, 1878. *Cf.* 楫杜吉次, 現行神社法令逐條講義, (Sugimori, K., *Genkō Jinja Hōrei Chikujō Kōgi*, "Lectures on Contemporary Shrine Law," Tokyo, 1910), Appendix, p. 102.

4. *Keishin Mondai Chōsa Hōkoku*, p. 3.

5. *Ibid.*

however, there is advantage in them, all people high and low must cooperate in planning for the progress of these sentiments. When the idea of reverence for the deities of heaven and earth is exalted, the people naturally look up to divine virtues and they come to desire to secure daily progress under divine guidance. This is prayer. We wish that the idea of reverence might advance to this point. This is not, however, to be forced. Prayer in the sense of supplication for individual profit and happiness we neither encourage nor repress. Yet if *Shinshū* teaches merely pure gratitude toward the deities of heaven and earth we have no objection.

"2. *Taima* are not images of the deities. They are media through which the people revere the deities of the shrines. This is their real meaning. Therefore we desire that the people should receive them.

"3. Concerning the order of 1882 which permits priests of shrines of prefectural grade and below to conduct funeral services, the law used the term *tōbun*[1] ("for the present"). As a matter of fact, the necessity still exists. For example, in certain districts some people desire Shintō funerals but they do not wish them conducted by any of the Shintō sects. It is by all means necessary to provide for these people with services by Shintō officials (*shinshoku*)."[2]

The same report prints a condensed statement attributed to the Chief of the Bureau of Religions in reply to the same questions. The statement is dated October 12, 1920 and says, "I am not of the opinion that the idea of prayer toward the deities of heaven and earth must be maintained by all means. I do desire that the people receive *taima*, but I do not believe that they must be received without exception. Also unwillingness to accept them does not necessarily imply disrespect to the deities."[3]

1. 當分.
2. *Keishin Mondai Chōsa Hōkoku*, pp. 6-8
3. *Op. cit.*, p. 8.

The report closes with resolutions embodying the attitude of the Mikawa Association toward the issue. The statement says:

"We should be grateful for the great benefits of the divine spirits of Imperial ancestors who founded the nation and established virtue and should offer them reverence that is deep and true. Likewise, we should be thankful to all the other deities who labored for the nation and who gave the people peace. But it is forbidden in this sect to pray for one's own selfish ends and for benefits and blessings in this world. This is the teaching of the Shin Sect regarding the deities of heaven and earth. We repudiate all such things as heresy, Shintō churches, and the deities of a multitude of shrines arbitrarily established.

"*Taima* are not images of the deities; they are religious charms. The government, working through a Department for Shrines is now making general distribution of these objects. But the reception or refusal thereof are matters in which the people have freedom of choice. This was established in a proclamation of the Department of Home Affairs in 1878. Therefore, to say that those who do not receive them are unpatriotic is a gross libel."[1]

A further statement regarding the *taima* says, "From the standpoint of name, history and past method of distribution it is clear that *taima* are charms. The government and one or two scholars persist in trying to interpret *taima* from the point of view of the psychology of the recipients but their attitude cannot be called honest in that they do not interpret either the meaning or the method of distribution."[2]

Another publication of the Shin Sect, entitled *Gyoku Den Okura Tōronki*[3] ("An Account of the Discussion between Gyoku Den and Okura") presents in detail the reasons why adherents of the sect are forbidden to receive *taima*. The most

1. *Op. cit.*, pp. 13-14.
2. *Op. cit.*, p. 13.
3. 玉傳大倉對論記, 廣島縣安佐郡久地村, 紫花義澄.

important part of the explanation says, "Our position that reception of *taima* on the part of adherents of the Shin Sect is contrary to the principles of the sect has its basis in the fact that there exists the idea that if *taima* are placed on the god-shelf and worshipped and revered morning and evening, evil and misfortune will be averted thereby. If the actual, popular usage of *taima* is investigated it will be found that beliefs concerning them are such as these: If *taima* are stood up in cultivated fields they will prevent destruction by insects; if pasted up in cattle sheds they will prevent diseases of cattle; or, if put up at garden entrances they will drive away evil spirits."[1] Such practices, it is stated, are a rude form of prayer for the things of this world and thus contradictory to a fundamental tenet of the sect.

A remarkable criticism of the existing situation is contained in a speech in the Imperial Japanese Diet, made in December, 1918, by Mr. *Tatsuguchi* Ryōshin, a member of the Diet. With regard to the issue under consideration the speech says:

"In the matter of the relation of the Shintō shrines and religion, it is to be said that the shrines of our country are places where the deities of heaven and earth are worshipped. These deities are the ancestors of our Imperial Family and of other personages of our nation and are by no means the same as the God of Christianity or the Buddha of Buddhism. At shrines those who have contributed meritorious service to the state are commemorated. Thus the shrines are places where rites are performed in memory of our ancestors and are by no means religious and are not to be regarded as religious chapels.

"I wish to say, however, that the priests of prefectural grade and below perform funeral ceremonies and preach sermons; they distribute amulets and charms[2] and offer prayers. They function

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 25.

2. *Omamori, ofuda.* The practice of distributing these objects is not confined to shrines of lower grade as the speech would seem to indicate. They can be secured at the greatest shrines of Shintō, as for example at the Grand Shrine of Ise and the new Meiji Jingū of Tokyo.

exactly as the priests of Buddhism. Thus it is that our ancestral ceremonies have become religious and the Shintō priests have become religious teachers. This confusion of religion and the shrines has in it the following great dangers:

"1. That the dignity of the shrines be injured and the good traditions of our ancestor worship be destroyed.

"2. That the shrines finally take on the form of a national religion and become the cause of the persecution of other religions."[1]

II. In the second place, the ceremonials conducted under government direction at the official shrines are of a genuinely religious nature. It is true that the government attempts to distinguish between *sūhai* or *shūhai*,[2] ("worship"), and *sūkei* or *shūkei*,[3] ("reverence"), maintaining that at the official shrines the latter is offered, directed toward the commemoration of those who have been conspicuous for loyalty to ancestors, emperor and state in the past. But when investigation is made of the rites which are employed to express this reverence, it is found that even officialdom makes use of religious ceremonial. These rites are based on the ancient ceremonies of the *Engi Shiki*. They include *norito* (prayers), *shinsen* (food offerings), *kaihi* (ceremony of opening the screen before the shrine), and *harai* (prayers for the expulsion of evil). It is impossible to maintain that these are mere forms devoid of true religious significance.[4]

The objection to officially inspired "shrine worship" on the ground that it is a real religion has been well formulated by the Roman Catholic Church of Japan, speaking through the Bishop of Nagasaki. The promulgation says, "The members of the Catholic Church, without hesitation, will join in paying due reverence toward the nation's distinguished men as a part of patriotic duty. Nevertheless, however generous our frame of

1. *Chūgai Nippō* (中外日報), Dec. 26, 1915 (No. 4913), p. 2.
2. 崇拝.
3. 崇敬.
4. J. E. (Japan Evangelist), May, 1918, p. 181.

mind may be with regard to this view of the shrines (government view), we cannot give our support to it. . . . Shrine worship is indeed poor in religious ideas judged from the inner worth of religion, but is amply furnished with a wealth of ceremonialism fixed by law. It is an organized form of reverence paid to supernatural beings and must be regarded as a religion. Moreover, it is a religion forced upon the people, and if it be different from Shintō, it may not inappropriately be called shrine religion. It is something proposed to take the place of a national religion. . . . We regret exceedingly that as Catholics we cannot accept the interpretation of shrine worship given by the government, nor can we visit the shrines and engage in the services for the dead nor can we ever pay respect to the so-called gods."[1]

The Federated Churches of Japan (Protestant) take similar ground. This body, representing practically all the Christian forces of Japan outside of Roman Catholic and Greek Catholic constituencies, has taken the position that "to lead people into a vague religious exercise under the pretext of reverence toward ancestors, and thus to mix the two things, is not only irrational, but results in harm to education and hinders in many ways the progress of the people."[2] The *Nihon Kirisuto Kyōkai* (Presb.), acting through the Gotemba Conference of 1917 has likewise separately passed a resolution to the effect that government ceremonies performed at the shrines are conducted in a true religious spirit and with religious rites.[3]

The position of the Greek Catholic Church of Japan, although not officially expressed, has been interpreted by a representative of that body in a recent publication. In general each individual is allowed to follow the dictates of his own conscience. Worship at the shrines in the sense of honor or respect paid to ancestors is encouraged, but only at those shrines

1. *Op. cit.*, pp, 180-182; *Kirisuto Kyōkō*, March 28, 1918.
2. J. E., Nov. 1917, p. 413.
3. J. E., Sept. 1917, p. 340.

dedicated to the memory of those closely related with the history of the country or the Imperial Family. Christians are permitted to pray for the salvation of ancestors who were not believers and for the spirits of those to whose memory the shrines are dedicated. On the other hand, worship at the shrines in the sense of prayer for personal good fortune is not permitted.[1]

III. In the third place the position of the government is criticised as a violation of the Japanese Constitution itself. It is maintained that the position of the national government on "shrine worship" creates a situation that interferes directly with the exercise of the constitutionally guaranteed rights of freedom of religious faith. Different non-Shintō religious bodies, within the last few years have adopted resolutions and otherwise made public utterances calling attention to this situation.

On October 31, 1917, the Federation of Japanese Churches (Christian), meeting to commemorate jointly the quadricentennial of the outbreak of the German Reformation, and the birthday of the reigning Japanese Emperor, considered the occasion opportune for the adoption of resolutions emphasizing the rights of religious liberty under the Constitution. The document drawn up at this time makes a "distinction between religion, on the one hand, and respect that may properly be paid to ancestors and to those historic personages that have rendered meritorious services to their country on the other." The churches strongly affirm their loyalty to the state and the Emperor, and add that it is the duty of all loyal men to encourage a cosmopolitan spirit and to aid in eliminating superstition.

Clause Five of the resolutions then states the main grievance: "The Imperial Constitution guarantees freedom of faith, and we must do our best to see that this law is maintained. We must note, however, as utterly inconsistent with the principle of religious liberty the following matters: the recent arrange-

1. J. E., Aug., 1915, pp. 342-3; *Seikyō Yowa*, May, 1915.

ments about shrines, the connection established between shrines and education, many things that have occurred in towns, villages, and elsewhere, and the common custom of making the observance of these superstitious customs almost compulsory."[1]

The Roman Catholic Church has likewise called attention to the freedom of religious belief granted in the Constitution promulgated by the late Emperor Meiji and has expressed a desire that the government create a status for the shrines under which it may be possible for Christians to maintain their constant purpose to be loyal to the Empire and at the same time be "faithful to the most high God" without doing violence to conscience.[2]

An additional Roman Catholic view, translated from "Les Nouvelles Religieuses" by the Japan Chronicle, goes even farther and expresses no little anxiety lest the situation may eventuate in the abrogation of even the existing constitutional protection of religious liberty. The article says regarding the point under consideration, "Nor is it possible to foresee whether, some day, the religious liberty protected by the Constitution may be limited. The text of the Constitution carries the construction that this religious liberty is granted on condition that public peace and order are not troubled. Hostile voices are already heard in the Press demanding the restriction of this liberty. Others, on the contrary, have expressed their apprehensions lest the text of the Constitution be found to furnish a pretext for these abuses. Whatever happens, it can be understood how those who have devoted their lives to making known in Japan the benefits of the Gospel, experience, as one or two of them have written, 'serious and legitimate disquiet for the future of our holy religion when they see the recrudescence of Shintō (the cult of the Imperial Ancestors), the efforts, limited

1. J. E., Nov., 1917, p. 413.
2. J. E., May, 1918, p. 183.

but constant, of the official world to make it the sole national cult, and the gradual advance of Japan toward Caesarism'."[1]

The *Nihon Kirisuto Kyōkai* declares—"When the Government authorities encourage this worship at the shrines, yea, and even almost compel school children to take part in the same, it is clear that they are violating the Constitution of the Empire as well as infringing upon the freedom of faith guaranteed by the Constitution."[2]

Buddhist organizations have taken similar action. The issue between Buddhism and Shintō reached a stage of special acuteness at the time of the coronation of the reigning emperor in 1915. There is evidence on hand to show that at this time government officials in various places were attempting to strengthen Shintō as a support for nationalism by utilizing opportunities that arose in connection with the coronation ceremonies at Kyoto. The translations given below from the Japanese Buddhist press of the time will serve to show the nature of the difficulties that appeared as well as the reaction that manifested itself in a large section of Buddhism.

The *Chūgai Nippō* under the date of November 30, 1915, prints the following: "A statement of a conference of the Shin Sect regarding interference with religion on the part of the governor of Kagawa Prefecture—

"Governor Wakabayashi, acting through the Chief of the local Department of Home Affairs, recently summoned the heads of all cities, towns and villages and gave instructions that at the time of the coronation the people of the entire province without regard to religious affiliations should erect *kadomatsu* (ceremonial pine trees) at the gates, place *kamidana* (god shelves) in the houses, stretch *shimenawa* (sacred ropes) under

1. *The National Cult in Japan*, "A Roman Catholic Study of Its Opposition to Evangelization, p. 8, (Japan Chronicle, Kobe, Japan, 1918). For a Japanese answer to this criticism see Japan Weekly Chronicle, Dec. 26, 1918, p. 895, "The National Cult in Japan."

2. J. E., Sept. 1917, p. 340, Resolutions of the Gotemba Conference of 1917.

the eaves, that they should purify their houses and that all the people should go in groups to designated shrines of cities, towns and villages and perform distant worship [toward Kyoto].

"In certain villages the coercion was added that failure to obey this command was punishable with a fine and the charge was made that any offender was unpatriotic.

"As a result the heads of respective towns and villages enforced the order on the people and, as a matter of fact, a local policeman visited the Rev. *Tachibana* Jōkai at his residence within the court of the Kōsei Temple and obliged him to hang *shimenawa* at the temple gates, to stand *kadomatsu* at the entrance, forced him to purify the temple just like a common house, and commanded him to make public attendance at a shrine like an ordinary person and perform distant worship."[1]

Under the date of December 11, 1915, the same publication says, "In Yamagata Prefecture, just as in Kagawa Prefecture on the occasion of the coronation, all people were forced to put up *kamidana*, hang *shimenawa*, and erect *kadomatsu*. Owing to such extraordinary interference the opposition of the people has been aroused and there is a movement to secure the resignation of the governor and heads of towns and villages. In this province all the sects of Buddhism, including the Jōdo, East Hongwanji, West Hongwanji, Sōtō, and Rinzai sects have united and are taking up with the local governor the matter of this unlawful interference."[2] Similar situations in Hiroshima, Shimane, Ishikawa and other prefectures called forth further criticisms from Buddhist sources.[3]

Even prior to the appearance of the issue over the coronation ceremonies, namely, in March, 1915, twelve delegates, representing fifty-six sects of Japanese Buddhism had waited on the Minister of Education and demanded consistency in the

1. *Chūgai Nippō*, Nov. 30, 1915 (No. 4890), p. 3.

2. *Op. cit.*, Dec. 11, 1915 (No. 4900), p. 3.

3. *Op. cit.*, Jan. 5, 1916 (No. 4916), p. 3; *Kei Sei*, Feb., 1916; J. E., March, 1916, p. 117.

government's Shintō policy. Their statement reads, "Although Shintō is independent of and separate from religion, yet religious services are conducted by Shintō priests at their shrines. In order to safeguard religious freedom the prohibition of the unwarrantable practices of conducting religious services through Shintō priests is deemed urgent."[1]

Again, on December 10th of the same year, sixty-four delegates representing fifty-six sects, met in the West Hongwanji Temple at Kyoto, adopted a set of six resolutions and appointed a committee to carry them into effect. The first resolution is important as expressing united loyalty to the central institution of the Japanese state. The reading is, "First: The various Buddhist sects shall unite in purpose and activity for the revival and dissemination of religion and for adding new emphasis to the duties of propagandism, with a view to a better promotion of the fortunes of the Imperial House."

The second, third, and fourth resolutions bear further on a program of Buddhist federation; the last two are directed toward the solution of the religious issue with the authorities. "Fifth: To keep clear the distinction between the shrine officials (*Shinshoku*) and Shintoism as a religion (*Shindō Shūkyō*) there shall be put forth efforts to prevent these two from being identified. Sixth: There being recently a very unsatisfactory attitude toward Buddhism manifested by the authorities, these conditions shall be made public and an effort shall be put forth to induce the government to remove the unsatisfactory conditions."[2]

A frank exposition of the constitutional aspects of the problem as well as of the difficulties confronted by the Japanese government as it attempts to maintain simultaneously a national cult in Shintō and a guarantee of general religious freedom in the Constitution, is stated in the publication of the Mikawa Association of the Shin Sect already noted. In its introduction to the dis-

1. *Cf.* Mission News (Organ of Am. Board Mission, Kobe, Japan), June, 1916, p, 184.

2. *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun*, Dec. 11, 1915; J. E., Jan., 1916, pp. 30-31.

cussion of the shrine problem this document remarks, "Whoever is born in this country, even if he knows but little gratitude, must revere the deities of heaven and earth and respect his ancestors. But reverence for deities and respect for ancestors are not things to be used for certain ulterior objects. They are, in and of themselves, precious principles for the nation. Accordingly, they must always be treated with care and seriousness. If, however, the essential nature of reverence for ancestors is forgotten and under cover of the beautiful name thereof, it is thrust forward arbitrarily, not only is the divine will misunderstood, but also the certain result is that the freedom of religious faith guaranteed under the Imperial Constitution is endangered, various other religions are antagonized and the spirit of the people is thrown into confusion. If one considers the plans of the government during the fifty years since the Restoration and especially during the past ten years he will come to know that this is not simply groundless apprehension."[1]

The statement further says, "It is very much to be doubted whether the authorities themselves possess a firm faith in the shrines and the deities. Yet the government cannot go on being blind to the increasing confusion in popular ideas. But as government officials it is not possible to consider entrusting Buddhism with the great responsibility of unifying the popular mind, and likewise it is impossible for them to depend on Christianity. Therefore, from the government standpoint, the unification of the popular mind cannot be accomplished otherwise than by hoisting up the shrines. Thus the official advocacy of reverence for deities is entirely political policy. In order to carry out this policy the government would like to regard the shrines as places of religious worship. Otherwise, the sentiment of reverence for deities cannot be implanted strongly in the hearts of the people. But if this were done it would immediately contradict the freedom of religious faith guaranteed in the Constitution. Therefore, the government asserts that the shrines are not religious. Thus the

1. *Keishin Mondai Chōsa Hōkoku*, p. 1.

government is constantly standing in the presence of a self-contradiction. The reason why the government authorities are never able to give a clear and unequivocal solution to this problem is just here. In particular, the fact that the official attitude toward Christianity is not clear has its basis altogether in this matter."[1]

A criticism of similar import from the Japanese secular press says, "The worship at the shrines where great men of the country are deified is clearly a manifestation of religious sentiment, and so all the rites and forms in the Shintō shrines are unquestionably religious in character. The Japanese authorities, however, have been averse to recognizing this axiom and consequently refuse to call a spade a spade. It is a great mistake on the part of the government to regard as not religion what possesses all the essential attributes of a religion. Yet it desires to give a religious benefit to the people by the observance of religious forms."[2]

In this connection special notice should be made of the *Fukuin Shimpō*, a Christian magazine which has consistently and fearlessly criticized the government position on shrine worship. One of the most refreshingly direct criticisms that has yet appeared was published by this journal at the time of the dedication of the Meiji Shrine. The writer says:

"Shrine worship which government authorities are now encouraging and at times even forcing is a matter that is accompained by numerous questions both from the standpoint of faith and of ideas. At times one feels as though truth were being set at naught and justice were being trampled under foot. . . .

"The government authorities announce that the shrines are not religious, and then as the superlative proof thereof they point to the government organization which separates the Bureau of Shrines from the Bureau of Religions. To this kind of an

1. *Op. cit.*, pp. 5-6.

2. *Yorodzu Shimbun.* Trans. in Japan Weekly Chronicle, May 25, 1916, p. 836.

apology I can never give my assent. The determination of whether or not the shrines are religious is not a matter that lies within the province of government offices. It is purely a problem of knowledge and is to be determined by application of scientific method to the study of religion. . . . Considered from this standpoint the definition handed down by the government has no value whatever. . . . . From the point of view of the science of religion it is doubly clear that, in origin and tradition, in form of ceremony and in spirit of worship, the shrines are religious. In this there is not room for the injection of a particle of doubt. Accordingly, if the government forces shrine worship on us by order, it overrides the rights which are guaranteed us in the Constitution.

"Among the Japanese of today are deists, pantheists, and materialists. There are both those who affirm and those who deny the existence of God. There are those who believe in the immortality of the soul and those who do not so believe. There are great differences according to variation in individual ideas. Especially in Japan, pantheists who have come under the influence of Indian thought and materialists who have come under the influence of modern science are numerous. According to the teachings of pantheism all change is like the waves on the sea. When the waves calm down all becomes water again. All things finally return to the Absolute and individual existence is annihilated. The human soul after death is immersed in the Absolute and not a shadow or sign of it is left.

"Again, it is impossible for a materialist to admit the existence of the soul. Consequently, for a pantheist or a materialist to kneel before ancestors, to offer *norito*, and pray at the shrines becomes altogether meaningless. To what extent there are those who out of a desire to preserve public harmony practice opportunism with indifference, I cannot say, but if they value the truth and are loyal to the principles in which they believe, it ought to be impossible for pantheists and materialists to worship at the shrines. . . . For the state to be blind to

the existence of philosophy and science and to force a kind of faith and a set of ideas on the people is to disregard human life and spirit, and is folly. . . . .

"I am not one who feels that shrine worship must be opposed by all means. Religious faith is free. Those who find satisfaction in the ceremonies of the shrines should therewith make sincere expression of ancestor worship. But for the state to force this on those who cannot find satisfaction in the ceremonies of the shrines is certainly illegal and is persecution. Where there is no freedom hypocrisy flourishes. I feel that the forcing of this additional falsehood upon the Japanese nation which is already suffering from great hypocrisy is a matter that ought to be fully considered."[1]

The case against the government has been well summarized by Mr. *Ojima* Saneharu, the most representative of the Christian students of Shintō. An abridgment of his exposition includes the following points.

1. The *norito* issued in 1914 by the Japanese Department of Home Affairs for the use of Shintō priests contain prayers for abundant harvests, health and victory. In view of the special position of the official cult, this cannot be harmonized with the guarantee of religious liberty contained in the Constitution.

2. The government declares that at the shrines are worshipped the ancestors of the Imperial Family and those who in past have won merit in the service of the state. If among the ancestors of the Imperial Family are included such personages as *Amaterasu-Ō-Mi-Kami*, *Ama-no-Mi-Naka-Nushi-no-Kami*, *Taka-Mi-Musubi-no-Kami* and *Kami-Musubi-no-Kami*, then official Shintō is a religion and the shrines become religious institutions.

3. It is illogical and inconsistent for the government to say that the shrines are not religious and at the same time permit

1. 小野村林蔵, 神社に對する疑義, (*Onomura*, Rinzō, *Jinja ni tai suru Gigi*, "Doubts Regarding the Shrines"), *Fukuin Shimpō*, Nov. 25, 1920, pp. 576-577.

priests of prefectural, district and village shrines to conduct funeral services.

4. The fact that the government does not manage the Shintō shrines through the Bureau of Religions is explicable as a kind of official sophistry, for the shrines are genuine religious institutions.[1]

In spite of such criticism the government has persisted in maintaining its position that the shrines are not religious institutions. A recent statement of the Home Department says, "Whatever ideas or beliefs the people may have, the government does not look upon the shrines as being religious in nature. However desirable it may be for the people to return to the former ideas and interpretations regarding the shrines, at the present time the government has no thought of doing anything to bring this about. The government simply encourages respect for the shrines and believes that shrines may be reverenced and supported by those who have faith in any religion without conflict or inconvenience. Whatever opinion may be held as to what should be done regarding the religious attitude toward the shrines, the government will maintain a neutral position on the ground that religious belief should be free."[2]

The latest phase of the development of official Shintō is in connection with educational problems that have been forced into prominence as a result of the Great War. During the war the Japanese government appointed a special commission on education to consider, among other things, matters relating to the unification of the thought of the people. It is worthy of note that forty-two members of the Imperial Diet were on this commission. The reports were made public in the months of January and February, 1919.

1. *Cf. Ojima*, Saneharu, *Tettei sezaru Jinja Ron* (尾島眞治, 徹底せざる神社論, "Unconvincing Arguments regarding Shrines," *Shinjin*, Vol. 17, No. 5, May, 1916), pp. 75-80.

2. J. E., Apr. 1916, pp. 154-5; *Fukuin Shimpō*, Apr. 1916. Statement of the Bureau of Shrines.

The Commission alleges that unsound social conditions have been developing rapidly in Japan of late and assigns as cause an excessive and indiscriminate introduction into Japan of occidental ideas and institutions subsequent to the Restoration. The report says, "The situation is very grave and calls for serious consideration;" and, again, "Such systems, organizations and social conditions as are found to be inconsistent with and contradictory to the fundamental principles of our national education must be reformed and readjusted, and for that purpose joint efforts of those in positions of authority and those in private are indispensable."[1]

Along with this harmonious cooperation of government and people, the Commission urges the carrying out of a reconstruction program along the lines of traditional Japanese institutions. The foundations must be the old characteristic culture of Japan (*Nihon no koyū no bunka*). The report thus emphasizes the necessity of the continued worship of national deities and advocates "the preservation of the dignity and solemnity of the shrines, commensurate with their sacred associations, and the universal education of the people to the true meaning of religious ceremonies and also to elevating the status of the Shintō priesthood."[2]

The issue, however, still remains open. Up to the present, it has proved impossible to find consistency in the official interpretation of the shrines. As an indication of the ambiguity of the government attitude, we may quote from the report of a "Special Committee on Shrines" of the National Christian Educational Association of Japan as given July 10, 1920. The report states, "Your committee made two calls on the Bureau of Shrines of the Japanese Government and presented our point of view and our hopes respecting both shrine worship and pilgrimages to shrines. The only answer we received was that

1. J. E., Apr. 1919, pp. 136-7; *Japan Times and Mail*, Feb. 11, 21, 22, 1919.

2. J. E., *op. cit.* p. 137.

the government must give the matter further consideration. We greatly regret that we have not yet been able to attain our point. Our demand briefly stated is, that the government shall adopt adequate measures for making public proclamation to the effect that the meaning of shrine visitation is limited to an expression of honest respect and is not to be understood as religious worship."[1]

The legal difficulty, however, has a fundamental aspect. It relates to the underlying philosophy upon which has been reared the structure of Japanese communal ancestralism. Is the state itself, consciously or unconsciously, committed to a politico-religious theory that makes impossible at present the genuine secularization of the shrines? Are the great ancestral *kami* nothing more than mere men who have labored and passed off the stage of human affairs and the memory of whose greatness is revered at the shrines? Or are they regarded as actual spirits of a superhuman world, able to aid suppliant human beings and ever watching over the destinies of Japan? In attempting to arrive at defensible answers to these questions we may turn first to some typical solutions that have been offered by Japanese investigators, themselves.

1. 基督教教育同盟會第拾回總會議事錄, p. 12. Tokyo, 1920.

CHAPTER III.

JAPANESE INTERPRETATIONS OF SHINTŌ: THE ETHICAL DEFINITION.

Solutions of the shrine problem presented by contemporary Japanese Shintoists resolve themselves into two general classes of interpretation, (1) the nationalistic-ethical and (2) the nationalistic-religious.

Both forms of interpretation are equally penetrated by a point of view which Japanese Shintoists attempt to expound as the mark of the fundamental social mind of their race, namely, a group consciousness or social and political loyalty which is represented to be of such strength as to dominate and very frequently to eliminate individualism.[1] The solidarity of the primitive "we-group" has made its way up through the clan spirit of feudalism into the modern state; the particularism of the old feudal order has been drawn together about a national emotional center in the Imperial House "of unbroken line throughout all time as Heaven and Earth eternal." Under the stimulus of modern conflicts with external forces this social mind has become extraordinarily self-conscious and is manifesting itself in the form of a nationalism which, as set forth by a large group of Japanese apologists, is supposedly supported by a patriotism which is unique in human history.

This situation in modern Japanese social psychology has been indicated in the above terminology by the application of the term "nationalistic" to both forms of the interpretation of Shintō. The difference between the two lies largely in the

1. *Cf.* Uehara, G. E., *The Political Development of Japan*, p. 19; *Katō*, Naoshi, "Eastern Ideals and the Japanese Spirit," T. J. S. L. A. Vol. XIII (1914-15), Pt. I, p. 142; *Haga*, Yaeichi, *Kokuminsei Jūron* (芳賀矢一, 國民性十論, "Ten Lectures on National Traits," Tokyo, 1914, 12th ed.), p. 4 ff.; *Tanaka*, Yoshitō, *Shindō Hongi* (田中義能, 神道本義, "*Essentials of Shintō*," Tokyo, 1911), pp. 137-140.

nature of the fundamental philosophical explanation of the basis of Shintō. The first named attempts to develop a Shintō pantheon out of the heroes of Japanese political history, while leaving the ultimate nature of these "deities" largely unexplained. The second, while likewise stressing political values, definitely ties up communal ancestralism with pantheism or with idealistic monism. We may consider the two forms in the above mentioned order.

The formulation which Japanese exponents attempt in the nationalistic-ethical interpretation follows along the lines laid down in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries by *Kada* Azumaro, *Kamo* Mabuchi, *Motoori* Noringa and *Hirata* Atsutane. It concurs with the official announcement that Shintō is not a religion, at least in the ordinary sense, and builds largely on the proposition that Shintō deities are human beings. Not only so, it further attempts to carry this thesis right back through the earliest Japanese mythology.

The point of view here indicated is applied in two directions: (a) as the interpretation of existing political institutions and the support thereof, and (b) as a means of facilitating a harmonization of this supposedly non-religious form of Shintō with thought and practice looked upon as truly religious. Behind the former application lies the interest of a host of statesmen, politicians, soldiers, educationalists and Shintō officials; behind the latter, the interest of many of the genuine religious leaders of the nation.

We turn first to the consideration of the political application of the nationalistic-ethical interpretation.

There is hardly a subject in modern Japan that has received, at the hands of both governmental and educational authorities, the attention that has been accorded so-called *Kokumin Dōtoku*[1]

1. 國民道德. For bibliographies of Japanese literature on this subject *cf. Inouye*, Tetsujirō, *Kokumin Dōtoku Gairon* (井上哲次郎, 國民道德概論, "Outlines of National Morality"), Appendix, pp. 103-117; *Kōno*, Shōzō, *Kokumin Dōtoku Shiron* (河野省三, 國民道德史論, "A History of National Morality"), pp. 256-8.

—"national morality." It is the fundamental motive of Japanese education.[1] In the form of apologetic here under discussion, Shintō becomes practically identical with *Kokumin Dōtoku*. That is to say, Shintō is now interpreted as either the system of national morality itself or as the unique spirit which produces the system. It is a social and political ethic emerging from the peculiarities of Japanese psychology and history. It is identified with Japanese development from the beginning and is regarded as vitally necessary to the maintenance of the Japanese state. It is admittedly applied as a means of stabilizing existing Japanese institutions in the presence of distintegrating and suppressing tendencies supposedly threatening Japan through the incoming of Occidental civilization. It lays out a program of Shintō education in which the primary motive is the development of reverence for the past, respect for authority and loyalty to existing institutions of the state. It inculcates ideas of the unique sanctity and moral authority of Imperial Rescripts, together with special regard for the "peculiar dignity and superiority of the Imperial House of Japan"[2] and the assurance that "the national ideal of Japan is unsurpassed and impregnable."[3] In such a way the protection afforded Japanese institutions by the Tokugawa seclusion policy which was disrupted by the arrival of the "black ships" of Perry in 1853, is now secured by a psychological and educational program that attempts to strengthen the inner spirit rather than to put a wall of seclusion about the land.[4]

Modern Japanese exposition of the elements of "national morality" comes back, sooner or later, to the ethical teaching of the Imperial Rescript on Education, promulgated in 1890. The Japanese government and a large number of individual writers on the subject are agreed that the Rescript on Education

1. *Cf.* Inouye, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-3.
2. *Cf.* Motoori, "Shintō Education," *Japan Magazine*, May, 1917, p. 41.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 42.
4. *Cf.* Inouye, *op. cit.* pp. 84-100.

must be taken as setting forth the basis of contemporary Japanese ethics, both public and private. The official English translation of this Rescript is here given for purposes of reference.

"*Know Ye, Our Subjects:*

"Our Imperial Ancestors have founded Our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting, and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue; Our subjects ever united in loyalty and filial piety have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of Our Empire, and herein also lies the source of Our education. Ye, Our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore, advance public good and promote common interests; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth. So shall ye be not only Our good and faithful subjects but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers.

"The Way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by Our Imperial Ancestors, to be observed alike by Their Descendants and the subjects, infallible for all ages and true in all places. It is Our wish to lay it to heart in all reverence, in common with you, Our subjects, that we may all attain to the same virtue.

"The 30th day of the 10th month of the 23rd year of Meiji. [The 30th of October, 1890]. (Imperial Sign Manual, Imperial Seal)."[1]

1. For the history of this translation consult *Kikuchi*, Dairoku, *Japanese Education* (London, 1909), pp. 1-3. An official edition of the original Japanese

On the day following the promulgation of this Rescript the Minister of Education, Mr. *Yoshikawa* Akimasa, issued instructions which indicated plainly the use which the government intended to make of the document. A translation of the order follows.

"His Imperial Majesty, deeply anxious concerning the education of His subjects, has graciously handed down an Imperial Rescript. I, Akimasa, the present incumbent of the office of Minister of Education, am entrusted with a great responsibility. Reflecting on the matter night and day, I am fearful lest I make a mistake. I have received the Imperial Rescript with reverence and, deeply moved, have made copies thereof and am distributing them to the schools of the entire country. Those who are engaged in education, always obedient to the Imperial will, must not neglect the duties of culture and discipline, and especially on the days of school ceremonies or on some date determined according to convenience, the pupils must be assembled and the Imperial Rescript on Education must be read before them. Furthermore, the meaning must be carefully explained to the pupils and they must be instructed to obey it at all times."[1]

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text may be found in almost any one of the numerous text-books on ethics published by the Japanese Department of Education, as for example, *Jinjō Shōgaku Shūshinsho* (尋常小學修身書, "Text-book of Ethics for Primary Schools"), Vol. VI, Preface.

1. *Mombushō Kunrei, Ippanhō no Bu* (文部省訓令, 一般法之部, "Instructions of the Department of Education, Section on General Regulations"), p. 1, Oct. 31, 1890.

In 1912 Mr. Yoshikawa made public a statement on the actual origin of the Imperial Rescript on Education which makes interesting reading, especially in view of the fact that the above order would naturally lead the reader to infer that the composition of the rescript is referable *in toto* solely to the Emperor Meiji Mr Yoshikawa's explanation, as given below, shows that the rescript had its origin in an effort to apply a corrective to certain dangerous tendencies appearing in Japanese life in the eighties of the last century owing to the rapid and indiscriminate "westernization" that had been going on, and furthermore, that, as a matter of fact, the opinion of experts consulted in the compilation of the rescript was far

Along with this statement on the part of the Minister of Education there appeared a covering order from the Department of Education, indicating the same intention of utilizing the new rescript as the basis of public instruction in ethics. The order reads, "Concerning the Imperial Rescript on Education and the Instruction of the Minister of Education, to the *Hokkaidō* Government, the Urban Prefectures, and the other Prefectures.

from being unanimous as to the expediency of this attempt to build national character on a modified Confucian basis. The statement says, "At the time of the Restoration the late Emperor declared it would be the guiding principle of his government to introduce western civilization into the country and to establish New Japan upon that civilization. Consequently every institution in Japan was westernized and the atmosphere of the 'new civilization" was felt in almost every stratum of society. Indeed the process of westernization was carried to extremes. Thus those who advocated the virtues of righteousness, loyalty and filial duty brought down on themselves the cynical laughter of the men who professed as their first principle the westernization of Japan every way, and who declared that the champions of the old fashioned virtues were ignorant of the changed social condition of the Empire.

"But if any tendency is carried too far, inevitably there comes a reaction. The excessive westernization of Japan very naturally aroused strong opposition among conservative people, especially scholars of the Japanese and Chinese classics, who thought it dangerous for the moral standard of this Empire to see this process carried even into the moral teachings of the people. Thus a hot controversy followed between scholars, publicists and teachers who were divided into many schools. The question was so keenly agitated that it was taken up at a meeting of Governors at the Home Office in 1890. At that time Prince Yamagata was Minister of Home Affairs, and I was the Vice-Minister of the same department and personally witnessed the heated debate at the Governors' conference. It was, however, agreed in the end among the Home Office authorities that as the question concerned the people's thought, it must be dealt with rather by the educational authorities than by the Home Office officials.

"His Majesty at once instructed the Minister of Education, Viscount Enomoto, to frame some principles for education. Viscount Enomoto, however, resigned for some reason before he had completed the task and I succeeded him and had to complete the work. I consulted the late Viscount Ki Inouye, then Director of the Legislation Bureau, on the matter, and the draft was finally drawn up. While, however, the draft was under compilation, we frequently approached the Emperor, and asked his gracious advice upon the moral principles which were to be embodied in the new moral standard of the nation.

"As people know, the Imperial Rescript on Education was based on the four

The Minister of Education has issued instructions relative to the Imperial Rescript on Education, graciously promulgated recently by His Imperial Majesty, and copies will be distributed to all schools, whether public or private, within the jurisdiction of the department. Thus the Imperial Will will be fully carried out."[1]

An order appearing in the regulations of Tokyo Prefecture at practically the same time as the above, states in so many words that the new Rescript was to constitute the foundation of Japanese education. The statement says: "Recently, the Imperial

virtues: benevolence, righteousness, loyalty and filial piety. The making of these four virtues the foundation of the national education was, however, strongly criticized at that time, and some scholars even declared that these virtues were imported from China and ought never to be established as the standard of the nation's morality. Others again said that, should such old fashioned virtues be encouraged among the people, it would mean the revival of the old form of virtue typified by private revenge, etc. But I strongly upheld the teaching of those four principal virtues, saying that the essence of man's morality is one and the same irrespective of place or time, although it might take different forms according to different circumstances, and that therefore the aforesaid four virtues could well be made the moral standard of the Japanese people.

"The Imperial Rescript was issued in its original form, and, in spite of the criticism and opposition before its promulgation, which caused much fear about its future, the Rescript, once issued, soon came to be the light of the people in their moral teaching and is now firmly established as the standard of the nation's morality." Japan Advertiser, Aug. 6, 1912, Trans. from *Kokumin Shimbun*, Aug. 5, 1912.

In estimating the importance to be attached to the criticism that the virtues stated in the rescript "were imported from China" comparison should be made with the cardinal virtues of Confucianism, namely, benevolence or humanity, righteousness, wisdom, propriety, and faith. Compare also the well known virtues of Platonism, *i.e.* wisdom, courage, temperance, and righteousness or justice. The relations of ruler and subject, of parent and child, of husband and wife, of brothers and sisters, and of friends with which the rescript concerns itself merely repeat the *gorin*, or five human relationships, of Confucian ethics.

1. *Mombushō Kunrei, Ippanhō no Bu*, order No. 8, Oct. 31, 1890. Note also, "The portraits of the Emperor and Empress and the copy of the Imperial Rescript on Education, which have been bestowed on each school within the jurisdiction of the department, should be placed most reverently in a designated place within the school." *Mombushō Kunrei*, No. 4, Nov. 17, 1891.

Rescript on Education was graciously conferred and instruction was also given out by the Minister of Education. The Rescript constitutes the great foundation of the education of our country.[1] Communication is hereby made to all public and private schools that all who engage in education must obey the Imperial command and must be assiduous not to mistake the aim of education in the future."[2]

Further evidence showing the extraordinary importance which the Japanese government attaches to the Imperial Rescript on Education as an instrument of nationalistic moral training may be seen in the Japanese educational program directed toward the assimilation of Korea. An official statement on the subject says: "As one of the vital aims of the new educational system is to develop in the younger generations of Koreans such moral character as will make them loyal subjects of Imperial Japan, not only is the general idea of the fundamental principles set forth in the Imperial Rescript on Education pretty well understood by most of the present-day students, but the new national anthem is quickly becoming their favorite song. . . . .

"As alluded to in the last Annual Report, when the new educational system in the Peninsula was formed, the Imperial Rescript on Education, issued for Japan twenty-one years ago, was graciously granted to the Governor-General, and the Imperial Will, desiring the extension of the fundamental principles of the national education to the Peninsula, was thus clearly manifested, also that Koreans and Japanese were alike regarded as His Majesty's loyal subjects. Receiving this Imperial Rescript with reverence, the Governor-General decided to distribute copies of it among the Government Schools and other Public Schools. On January 4th, 1912, the Governor-General issued an instruction to the Provincial Governments and Government Schools with regard to the Imperial Rescript on Education.

1. 本邦教育ノ大本. *Cf.* also Kikuchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 3, 102-3.

2. *Mombushō Kunrei*, Order No. 27, *Tokyo-fu Kunrei* ("Instructions for Tokyo Prefecture"), Nov., 1890.

During the year under review, Government and Public Schools receiving copies of the Imperial Rescript numbered 473."[1]

The Imperial Rescript on Education has come to be regarded as a sort of condensed sacred Scripture of the official cult, especially by advocates of the nationalistic-ethical school of Shintō. The position of this school is well set forth in the

1. *Annual Report on Reforms and Progress in Chosen* (*Korea*) 1912-13, pp. 207-8. (Compiled by the Government-General of Chosen, Seoul, Dec. 1914). Mr. *Sekiya* Tasaburō, formerly Director of the Education Bureau of the Korean Government, a man who has been characterized as largely responsible for the Japanese educational policy in Korea, has declared, "The fundamental purpose and policy of the government in its educational work in Korea is none other than that which it has before its mind constantly in Japan, namely, upon the basis of the Imperial Rescript on Education, to train the pupils into a loyal and virtuous people." J. E., Nov. 1913, p. 481.

Under the circumstances it is, perhaps, hardly to be expected that Japanese criticism of the Imperial Rescript on Education should manifest any special courage or originality. Ordinary Japanese attempts at evaluation hasten to make avowal of the superlative all-sufficiency of the rescript as an instrument of moral education. It is "perfect in spirit and in form, especially in fostering the spirit of loyalty and patriotism." (*Cf.* Kato, N., "The Educational System of Japan," T. J. S. L., Vol. XVI, p. 142). It is a most clear statement of the essence of Japanese national life, an authoritative expression of the virtues of the individual, the home and the nation, an exhaustive exhibition of the good and the beautiful. (*Cf. Ebina*, Danjō, in *Shinjin*, Dec. 27, 1910). Dr. *Uesugi* Shinkichi says, "The Imperial Rescript on Education supplies the bones of Japanese morality and the foundation of the spirit of the nation. It transcends all criticism." (國體憲法及憲政, *Kokutai Kempō oyobi Kensei*, "The National Organization, the Constitution and Constitutional Government," Tokyo, 1916, p. 82). Prof. *Tanaka* Yoshitō, says, "The Imperial Rescript on Education is the august teaching of the gods (Imperial Ancestors)." (*Shintō Hongi*, p. 152). The same author, writing in 1918 and commenting on the "Great Way" set forth in the rescript says, "Unlike what Confucius says in the Analects, or what Gautama says in the Sutras, or what Christ teaches in the Bible, the Emperor Meiji did not merely express his own august opinion (in the Rescript), but, indeed, he set forth in epitome the teaching bequeathed by the Imperial Ancestors, who are worshipped as gods in the shrines which our people have established." (國民道德要領講義, *Kokumin Dōtoku Yōryō Kōgi*, "Lectures on the Essentials of National Morality," Tokyo, 1918, p. 145). These latter statements are especially worthy of consideration in view of what Mr. Yoshikawa has said concerning the actual origin of the rescript.

An occasional criticism, while maintaining the flawlessness of the rescript

writings of *Tanaka* Yoshitō, recently appointed lecturer on Shintō in the Tokyo Imperial University.[1]

From the point of view of Tanaka's discussion a full and sufficient indication of the practical norm of Japanese social and political obligations is to be found in the Imperial Rescript on Education. "The Imperial Rescript on Education gives the essential elements of Shintō. That is to say, it expresses the last testaments of our Imperial Ancestors, which must be kept by our people."[2] The origins of the moral propositions of this rescript are to be found in the indigenous development of the Japanese race. In conformity with this position Tanaka expounds Shintō as the unique historical deposit of Japanese racial psychology. In spite of the fact that various religious cults and moral codes have existed in Japan from ancient times right down to the present, Shintō alone expresses the true spirit of the Japanese people. The essential meaning of Shintō is thus to be determined by reference to the qualities of this spirit. The heart of the cult is not religion at all in the ordinary sense;[3] it is *Yamato Damashii*, the peculiar psychological endowment of the race. The

itself, attacks the ethical instruction that is based thereon as formal and fruitless. (*Cf.* Kato, *op. cit.*; Ebina, *op. cit.*). Here and there a Japanese critic appears with the courage of his convictions. The editors of the *Japan Year Book* have declared, "The Rescript, with all respect to its august origin, primarily aims to produce patriotic and law-abiding citizens and is equally deficient in inspiring and leavening power." (The Japan Year Book, 1911, p. 260. Dr. N. Ariga elucidates the historical background of the rescript thus: "When the Constitution was granted in 1889, it was feared by some that the development of the idea of 'the rights of the people' would destroy the idea of loyalty and patriotism, and the famous Rescript on Education was the result, which looked at humanity entirely from the standpoint of intellect, and excluded all element of faith and mystery." (J. E. July, 1908, p. 259, trans. by *Japan Chronicle*).

1. Prof. Tanaka is the most prolific of the modern Japanese Shintoists. For a list of his most important writings consult Appendix B

2 *Shintō Hongi*, p. 156. *Cf.* also *ibid.*, pp. 147, 152-8.

3. Tanaka does not attempt to deny the existence of religious elements in Shintō. (*Cf Kokumin Dōtoku Yōryō Kōgi*, pp. 102-3). Yet that he regards Shintō as something more fundamental than mere religion, is to be seen in his insistence that Shintō is a Great Way that underlies morality, politics, education and religion alike. (*Shintō Hongi*, pp. 28, 113, 115, 162 ff.). His emphasis

question is immediately raised, what are the fundamental psychological characteristics of the Japanese people? According to Tanaka, these are three in number:

(1). An intellectual nature capacitating for orderliness and unification (*Chitsujo teki tōitsu teki shisō*).

(2). A vivacious and practical (lit. "this-worldly") emotional nature (*Kaikatsu teki gensei teki kanjō*).

(3). A disposition toward development and expansion (*Hatten teki bōchō teki seikaku*).[1]

The unique importance attached to this three-fold pyschological endowment in Japanese historical development is seen in Tanaka's statement: "This spirit has afforded the foundation from which Shintō has had its rise."[2] The manifestation of this spirit in the actual life of Japan constitutes Shintō. These psychological characteristics in the uniqueness of their combination are explained as the particular possessions of the Japanese. "To be sure," Tanaka admits, "we must recognize the fact that such intellectual qualities as orderliness and the capacity for unification have been conspicuous among the Chinese. In the case of this people however, even early in the ancient period of their history, this spirit collapsed well nigh to the foundations owing to changes in the reigning dynasties. Also a sprightly emotional nature, in which the things of the present world were especially emphasized, is to be noted as having obtained among the Greeks. We must likewise admit that a capacity for development and expansion was preeminent among the Romans. These nations, however, possessed these virtues singly. With

throughout is fundamentally ethical and political. Shintō, even as a religion, relates primarily to the politico-religious affairs of Japanese society. (*Cf.* 神道哲學精義, *Shintō Tetsugaku Seigi*, "The Essential Meaning of Shinto Philosophy," Tokyo, 1918, p. 210). He declares emphatically that if the content of religion is limited to the special characteristics manifested by Buddhism and Christianity then Shintō is not religion. (*Op. cit*, p. 205).

1. *Shintō Hongi*, p. 32. See also 本居宣長之哲學, *Motoori Norinaga no Tetsugaku*, "The Philosophy of Motoori Norinaga," p. 57.

2. *Shintō Hongi*, p. 34.

the succeeding decline of their national destinies, they became extinguished and disappeared. Our race alone, having ever been superior to the misfortune of ruin, has preserved this intellectual nature, this emotional quality, and this capacity (for expansion) in a special way and consequently has developed. In fine, this mentality (*shisō*), this emotional nature (*kanjō*), this character (*seikaku*), taken together as one, constitute the inherent spiritual quality of our race."[1]

This *Yamato Damashii*, or national spirit of Japan, is no recent and transient achievement. It has marked Japanese psychology from most ancient times, and thus, deeply embedded in the spiritual depths of the race, its unchanging perpetuation throughout the future is guaranteed. The divine ancestors have embodied the very essence of this spirit and have revealed its virtues. Particularly is this true of the sacred emperors who may properly be regarded as the incarnations of the true Japanese spirit. "Furthermore"—to quote—"the deeds and examples of all of our emperors from ancient times down to the present, have exerted a mighty influence on our people and have become the norm of national action in politics, in religion and in ethics, thus completely regulating the activities and utterances of the nation. *Thus, both the basis and the norm for the activities of the Japanese race have their origin in the deeds of our sacred ancestors. This is Shintō.*"[2]

"The most revered of all the *kami* are those of the successive generations of the Imperial Line, beginning with the Divine Ancestress, *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami*. The matters that have been disclosed by these successive generations of *kami*, beginning with *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami*, constitute the principal part of Shintō."[3]

"This Shintō, already in the ancient period, exercised an important influence, in harmony with the intellectual, emotional, and practical necessities of the time. Thus, as revealed in every-

1. *Motoori Norinaga no Tetsugaku*, p. 57.
2. *Ibid*, pp. 57-58.
3. *Shintō Hongi*, p. 145.

day affairs prior to the introduction of Confucianism, which has exercised such a great influence on the moral life of our people, Shintō constituted our national ethical system. Also, prior to the introduction of Buddhism which has exerted such power in the religious world of Japan, Shintō was the religion that gave calmness and tranquility to our people. Furthermore, in the Imperial Rescript of the third day of the first month of the third year of Meiji, it is written, 'The Heavenly Deities and Sacred Ancestors ascended the Imperial Throne and founded the Imperial Line. Sacred Emperors reigned in succession, continuing and extending the lineage. Religion and government were unseparated and the people were all united in a single heart. Above, government and education were excellent, and below, manners and customs were beautiful.' According to this, from most ancient time on, government and religion have been one, and prior to the introduction of Chinese political philosophy, Shintō was the way of political affairs. In addition Shintō had its influence on every aspect of the practical life of our people. Thus it is, that in just such manner as we Japanese have received our bodies, even to our hair and our skin, from our divine ancestors, handed down uncorrupted from father to son, so also, the fundamental things of Shintō are eternal, handed down from generation to generation."[1]

On the basis of his analysis of the Japanese spirit Tanaka is led to affirm a fundamental difference between the Japanese and other races. "In the matter of basic conceptions there is a difference between the people of our nation and foreigners."[2] This fundamental difference manifests itself primarily in the attitude toward the state. In the foreign point of view the state is ultimately subordinated to individualism.[3] The Japanese spirit on the other hand, characteristically expresses itself in the complete abandonment of individualism to the support of a state life

1. *Motoori Norinaga no Tetsugaku*, pp. 58-60.
2. *Shintō Hongi*, p. 140.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 139.

organized around the principle of imperial sovereignty. This fact has given extraordinary stability to Japanese political institutions. There has been going on in the past a fierce struggle for existence among the nations of the earth. It is to be noted that not one of the great European nations of the remote past has survived into the present.[1] Japan alone of the modern nations of the world has an unbroken existence extending back to the dawn of history. How does it happen that throughout a history of three thousand years Japan has never lost territory to foreign aggression and has preserved intact the integrity of her empire? The author answers, "In solution of this problem I maintain that this in a word is due to the fact of the existence from ancient times of the unique Great Way of our nation."[2] The historical result is that the Japanese Empire "possesses a national organization (*kokutai*) without parallel in the world."[3]

The military value of this apologetic is not lost sight of by Prof. Tanaka. He attempts to maintain that the military successes of Japan can only be fully explained by reference to the fundamental qualities of this unique Japanese spirit.[4] He admits that in external, physical characteristics the Japanese must be classified along with other human beings. The significant differences, however, are in the spiritual realm. "If Japanese and foreigners are the same, how does it happen that in the two great wars of recent times, namely in the Sino-Japanese and the Russo-Japanese wars, countries great in population, wide in area, rich in wealth, superior in military equipment, and great in number of soldiers—how does it happen that such a China and such a Russia went down before a Japan, limited in population, small in area, deficient in soldiers (from a numerical standpoint) and lacking in wealth?" The author's answer is, "The result is due to the fact that over and above these matters of military equip-

1. *Ibid.*, pp., 118 ff.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 121.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 112.
4. *Ibid*, pp. 146 ff.

ment, numbers of soldiers, population, and area, there exists a unique and special something with which these things cannot be compared. That is to say, in as much as there prevails among the people of our nation our characteristic Great Way, in a word, because there exists a Great Way unmatched in all the world, this result has come forth. In the face of this, the strongest country in the world must shrink back."[1]

Shintō is thus in its last analysis simply the historical manifestation of the unique Japanese Spirit. Shinto as the Great Way of *Yamato Damashii* underlies Japanese religion, ethics politics, and education. As already pointed out, this interpretation harmonizes easily with the official declaration that Shintō is not a religion, although Prof. Tanaka, himself, would go much farther than the government in admitting genuine religious ele-

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 148-9. Written before the World War. Dr. G. Katō, writing subsequent to the World War, has presented *Yamato Damashii* as having at its heart the unique patriotism of the Japanese. (*Waga Kokutai to Shintō*, p. 221). Walter Dening wrote in 1910, "The language used by certain Japanese writers claims for them the possession of certain mysterious hidden merits not found in other nations. Their regard for the Emperor, for instance, is representedas far superior to the feeling which Englishmen have for their King. Baron Kikuchi, Dr. Katō [Hiroyuki], even Mr. Sawayanagi, and many other writers use language that is capable of no other interpretation. Baron Kikuchi tells Englishmen and Americans they have not the eyes to see this. It is one of those mysteries that only Japanese can understand. On their regard for the Emperor is based all that is best in Japanese human nature, according to Dr. Kikuchi. He and many others assume that their attitude to the throne places Japanese high above all nations and that the patriotism displayed by the Japanese has its sources in the respect they feel for the Emperor. It may be so, but it would certainly be true to say that equally ardent patriotism is to be seen in numerous other countries whose constitution is radically different from that of Japan." Art. "Reason and Sentiment in this Country," *Japan Mail*. See *Japan Evangelist*, 1910, p. 254). The same writer says, "It has been a self-imposed duty of mine to study the ethical and religious thought and to analyze the moral character of the Japanese for three decades, and the conclusion I have reached is, that while in fine moral qualities the best Japanese are not behind the best Occidentals, neither are they ahead of them. Equality is all the most thoughtful and best informed Japanese claim, not superiority. If Japan has evolved ethical and religious thought that is quite new to the Western world, where in the whole range of Japanese literature is it to be found?" (*Op. cit.*, p. 253).

ments in Shintō. The success which has met the widespread propagation of this interpretation may be seen in the common experience of finding it repeated constantly as the typical school-boy interpretation of Shintō,—i.e. the essence of Shintō is in *Yamato Damashii*; its creed is in the Imperial Rescript on Education.

It is not possible within the limits of the present discussion to enter upon the detailed study of Japanese racial psychology which would be involved in the proper investigation of *Yamato Damashii*, the Soul of Japan.[1] Present consideration must be limited to representative statements by Japanese apologists who are avowedly speaking from the point of view of the exposition of Shintō.

In the exposition given by Mr. *Kōno* Shōzō, one of the professors of the *Koku Gakuin Dai Gaku*, the Shintō College in Tokyo, and at the same time one of the most recent writers on the subject, Shintō is likewise expounded as a nationalistic-ethical system wherein Japanese racial psychology finds its most characteristic expression. Although Prof. Kōno's discussion involves the recognition of religious elements in Shintō, it is nevertheless predominantly ethical. Shintō is defined as "the moral system of the Japanese people which has developed on a foundation of the idea of reverence from a center in the Great Deity, *Amaterasu-ō-mi-kami*."[2] Further definition says, "Shintō is that practical, nationalistic, or better, imperialistic morality which has for its central life the spirit of sincerity and which from ancient times has been the constant spiritual power and dynamic of the Yamato race."[3]

The first mentioned Japanese characteristic found in Shintō

1. See La Vieuville, G., *Essai de Psychologie Japonaise, La Race des Dieux*, Paris, 1908; Dening, Walter, "Mental Characteristics of the Japanese," T. A. S. J., Vol. 19, Pt. 1; Gulick, S. L., *The Evolution of the Japanese, Social and Psychic*, New York, 1903; Murdoch, James, *A History of Japan*, Vol. 1, pp. 5-16.

2. *Kokumin Dōtoku Shiron*, p. 220.

3. *Ibid*, p. 228.

is reverence for the Imperial Family, regarding which the author says, "The sentiment of reverence for an Imperial Line unbroken from time immemorial, whereby ruler and subjects are made one and by means of which the national life is protected, constitutes the life of Shintō and is the source of the happiness of the Japanese nation."[1] Other characteristics are listed as, a strong and ardent love of country, ancestor worship, hero worship, faith in the grace of Heaven and the aid of the gods, an emphasis on the activities of the present world, a regard for cleanliness (including the idea of religious purification), and an emphasis on etiquette.[2]

The writings and public addresses of Marquis Ōkuma may be taken as a semi-official exposition of the views of this school of Shintō. In his treatment the special characteristics of the Japanese race are regarded as always tending toward the creation and maintenance of a certain form of political and social life, namely, a hierarchy in which the members of the ruling classes as well as public benefactors of various grades are regarded as "deity." These deities, however, are not to be considered as akin to the superhuman gods of ordinary religions. On the contrary, the *kami* ("deities") of the Shintō cult are true Japanese ancestors, particularly those ancestors connected with the governmental regime. This characterization is applied even to the supposedly mythological sections of early Japanese tradition. Thus, the genealogy of the most ancient *kami* appearing in the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi* must be taken as affording lists of the names of actual ancestral rulers of old Japan.[3]

The extent to which Ōkuma is willing to go in utilizing Japanese mythology in developing his theory of the state may be gathered from the following quotation. "The former [the *Kojiki*] in its description of the first *kami* opens thus: 'The *kami* who, in the beginning of heaven and earth, created themselves in the High Heavenly Plain (*Takama-ga-Hara*), were

1. *Ibid.*, p. 229.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 228-234.
3. *Cf.*, Ōkuma, *Fifty Years of New Japan*, Vol. 1, pp. 1-10, 19-20.

three, *Ame-no-mi-naka-nushi-no-kami*, *Taka-mi-musubi-no-kami*, and *Kami-musubi-no-kami*.' The sentence might by some be given a religious interpretation, namely, that the deity *Ame-no-mi-naka-nushi* (meaning 'master of the center of heaven') was the ruler of the universe, and the deities *Musubi* (supposed by some to mean 'to produce') were the creators, but in fact these *kami* were entirely different from the superhuman gods of religion. The three laid the foundations of the Great Eight Islands, or the Japanese Archipelago, and their children intermarried and prospered. The descendants of the first named, who were charged to govern the newly created country, were the lineal descendants of the *kami*, or according to the strict meaning of the ideographs, the 'sons of the celestial *kami*.' The other two *Musubi* are sometimes called the *mi-oya-no-kami*, or ancestral *kami* and represent the maternal side of the family of the *kami*. Their descendants increased to the number of *yao-yorozu-no-kami* (literally 'eighty myriad *kami*,' but really 'multitudinous *kami*') who 'assembled in divine discussions.' Thus was begun a system of government by a council of elders before the throne. The families of the *Shin-betsu*, that is, branches of the *kami*—the Fujiwara for instance, which during many centuries were the most powerful of the nobility—were for the most part descendants of these *kami*. Hence it follows that the Japanese conception of the deities—if that term be properly applicable—does not, as is the case with the supreme beings of religions in general, involve the idea of obedience imposed by external authority, for instead of rites of sacrifice and prayer, whereby the devotees of other cults invoke blessings for themselves, the Japanese offer to their ancestors in thanksgiving the first fruits of the harvest, the members of each family assembling in their invisible presence and joyfully commemorating their own callings in life."[1]

It is to be anticipated then that Ōkuma will not support a strictly religious interpretation of the shrines. In an article written by him for the *Meiji Jinja Shiryō*, "Guide to the Meiji

1. *Op. cit.*, pp. 3, 4.

Shrines,"[1] he argues that the chief value of the shrines lies in the fact that they are an institution coterminous with Japanese historical development itself and as such expressive of the deepest and most characteristic sentiments of the Japanese race. The proper spiritual attitude of the devotee at the Shintō shrines is not that of religious worship in the ordinary sense; it is, on the other hand, *keishin*, namely, reverence. Thus Ōkuma is led to oppose the traditional or religious usage of the shrines in the following words, "To attempt by means of prayers to drive away sickness or to pray for prosperity and happiness, is mere superstition and is a violation of the nature of reverence. Reverence is not a kind of religious faith (*Keishin to wa hitotsu no shūkyō jō no shinkō de naku*). Buddhists and Christians alike, in as much as they are Japanese, ought to conform to this and, indeed, the matter is of such a nature that they can conform."[2]

After passing in brief review, the manner in which this spirit of reverence expresses itself in Japanese society, Ōkuma summarizes thus: "The Japanese idea of reverence is in this wise an exceedingly simple matter. To advance and extend the ideas of loyalty and filial piety toward Emperor and parents, to manifest a spirit of thanksgiving toward the spirits of the great men of the nation, both the ancestors of the common people and those of the Imperial Family, and for all time to look up to their high virtues—*keishin* is nothing other than this. Such being the case, *keishin* includes the ideas of loyalty and filial piety."[3]

Miyao and Inamura, in their valuable study of the shrines[4] likewise affirm emphatically that the shrines are not religious institutions. A single quotation will suffice to indicate the point of view of these authors. "There are scholars who interpret the shrines as places of religious worship. There are also those who argue that since the shrines are historical survivals relating

1. 明治神社誌料, (3 Vols., Tokyo, 1915), Vol. 1, Introduction.
2. *Op. cit.*, p. 2.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
4. *Jinja Gyōseihō Kōgi*, Tokyo, 1911.

to ancestralism, if ancestralism is to be classified as a form of religion, it consequently becomes impossible to place the shrines outside of religion. Whether or not they are religious when regarded from a philosophical position is beside the question. Here, in a word, let it be said, that under existing laws of the state the shrines are by no means religious institutions."[1] . . . . "Again, they [the shrines] are not places where religious activities are carried on. They must be classified as altogether outside of religion."[2]

Dr. *Haga* Yaeichi, one of the most representative of the modern Japanese nationalists, repeats the same argument with even greater emphasis in *Kokumin Sei Jūron*, "Ten Lectures on National Characteristics."[3] The form of Shintō that expresses itself in the shrines is declared to be "a matter altogether distinct from religion." "It has no relation whatever to the problem of the freedom of religious faith."[4] The author compares the shrines with the memorial statues found in Europe and America and maintains that the related sentiments are the same in both cases. In comparison with statues he remarks, "The shrines of our country are, after all, the same thing. Foreigners erect statues, we celebrate at the shrines, this is the only difference. It is inconsistent to say that, while one may pay respect before bronze statues he may not visit and pay reverence at the shrines. No one can reasonably say that while it is fitting to pay respect at the graves of relatives and friends, it is, on the other hand, beneath one's dignity or a violation of one's faith to visit and pay homage at the shrines of illustrious men. The difficulty arises from a misunderstanding of the word *kami* and a confusion with religion. In our National Constitution religious freedom is liberally permitted. Subjects of the state, without regard to religious connections, are permitted to do homage at the Ances-

1. *Op cit.*, p. 53.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 57.
3. 國民性十論, Tokyo, 1914.
4. *Op. cit.*, p. 40.

tral Sanctuary of the Imperial Palace, and in case of death on behalf of the public weal are collectively commemorated at the *Yasukuni* Shrine. This is proof that the shrines are not related to religion."[1]

We have next to consider the religious application of the nationalistic-ethical interpretation. In the eyes of certain Japanese writers, especially those interested in the development of genuine religious education, one of the great practical values of the purely ethical interpretation of Shintō, when consistently applied, is that it is calculated to eliminate all fundamental difficulties lying between actual religion and the fostering of national morality through the medium of Shintō ceremonials.

We may first note in this connection the exposition of Dr. *Hiroike* Senkurō who writes from the standpoint of an adherent of the Shintō sects and in particular of Tenri Kyō. This author in his book *Jinja Sūkei to Shūkyō*, "Shrine Reverence and Religion,"[2] gives the weight of his support to the interpretation that, from the standpoint of national law the official Shintō shrines are not religious institutions. His entire discussion is based on the idea of a two-fold function in the shrines, themselves, namely, that arising out of what may be called a popular character which is admitted to be genuinely religious, and that relating to an official character which is ethical and nationalistic. These two functions may be discharged at one and the same shrine and even in one and the same ceremony without conflict or inconsistency. The basis of Dr. Hiroike's distinction, however, may hardly be said to lodge in a thorough-going examination of either the nature of religion or of the actual ceremonials of the shrines. His conclusions rest on an acceptance of legal enactments as final. In particular he interprets the religious laws of 1882 and of 1900 to mean that, under existing Japanese law, the shrines are not religious institutions.[3]

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 45-46.
2. 神社崇敬ト宗教, Tokyo, 1915.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 42 ff.

Hiroike thus explains the official position to mean that the shrines are cult centers where reverence and gratitude toward the great leaders of Japanese history are expressed and stimulated. They are not properly places where private supplication is offered to the spiritual world.[1]

He admits that there are certain ceremonials conducted at the shrines which because of their historical origins may, from a certain standpoint, be interpreted as having mingled in them the meaning of prayer, and also grants that individuals may approach the shrines impelled by the idea of supplicating spiritual powers for various temporal benefits. "The mere matter of prayer for the future, however, and, again, the practice of distributing charms have no relation whatever with so-called religion from the standpoint of national law."[2] At the same time Hiroike admits that if one regards the matter from an academic or idealistic position, or perhaps from a sociological point of view, there is no objection to saying that the activities of the official shrines are based on religious notions and that the rituals bear a religious meaning. Yet, on the other hand, whatever be the nature of the supplications with which the individual approaches the shrine, there is no reason why, from the standpoint of law, the shrines should be regarded as religious institutions. National law has never interfered with the belief of the people in ordinary cases. The implication which the author here makes is, that for the state to attempt a reformation in individual beliefs and practices connected with the shrines would be tantamount to an abridgment of the religious freedom guaranteed under the Japanese Constitution.

Furthermore, he argues, in case either individuals or groups of individuals make entreaties at the shrines for such particular benefits as good crops or large hauls of fish, there is nothing in conflict with national law if priests in charge conform to the meaning of such prayers and, by making use of proper ritual,

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 47-8.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 50.

present the supplications to the deities. The author adds in explanation, "The action of the priests in announcing to the sacred spirits the wishes and the decisions of faith of village people and protégés of tutelary deities is exactly like that of the mother who presents to the father the desires and aspirations toward the future entertained by a child. No harm is done as long as the ceremonies are decorous. Accordingly, it is plain that there is no occasion for the government to interfere with the form which the announcement assumes."[1]

This direct contact with the people, however, is to be taken advantage of by the priest in order to train them in an understanding of the true significance of the shrines. On this point Hiroike says, "Since the priest is permitted to give lectures on the virtues of the deities, he should labor diligently to exalt these virtues and to explain to the parishioners the necessity of reverence and respect toward ancestors, and to make clear the great principles of loyalty and filial piety and thus cultivate a *moral* faith."[2]

The author is led to the conclusion, "The shrines transcend all religion and are of such a nature as to require the veneration (*sūhai*) of the nation as a whole. This reverence (*sonsū*) is an important part of the national morality and is not to be adjusted according to individual choice. Therefore it is a matter of course that according to one's residence in province, city, village or hamlet he should be assigned to his appropriate group of parishioners. [This of course without regard for other religious connection]. In as much, then, as he is a member of the nation or a resident of a village or town, it becomes impossible that he should be exempt from a tax levied as his proper portion of the expense of the shrine to which his worshiping group is related. And even though the legal restrictions did not exist at all, one who should reject or censure this arrangement would already have lost his qualifications as a member of the Japanese nation.

1. *Ibid.*, p. 51.
2. *Op. cit.*

From the standpoint of national morality it would be necessary to pronounce him a person with serious defects of character."[1]

A modern Christian apologist, *Tanaka* Tatsu, has attempted an exposition of Shintō from this same standpoint.[2] The principle underlying his harmonization may be formulated thus: The conception of deity in true religion and the idea of *kami* as found in pure Shintō are of such radically diverse natures as to render any conflict between Shintō and real religion impossible.

Tanaka attempts, in the first place, to establish the proposition, "The Way of the Gods (*Shindō*) is equivalent to the Way of Men" (*Jindō*). This statement, although resembling that advanced by various modern students of religion, to the effect that there is nothing in the god-world that is not first in the man-world, is nevertheless, from the standpoint of our Japanese author, different, since he recognizes the existence of religious values not included in Shintō, as he understands it. Tanaka thus develops the further proposition that in pure Shintō the so-called deities are nothing more than human beings. In other words the essential nature of Shintō is to be found in a system of human ethics, centered in the Japanese state.[3]

In support of his position, Tanaka makes no attempt to sift the ancient Japanese literature bearing on his discussion, nor is he willing to admit that the actual religious life of the Japanese people, as expressed in the various Shintō sects of the present, affords any criterion for the determination of the true nature of Shintō. On the other hand, he settles the matter by an appeal to the authority of certain recognized Japanese scholars, namely *Kada* Azumamaro, *Arai* Hakuseki, *Kamo* Mabuchi, *Motoori* Norinaga, *Watarae* Nobuyoshi, *Tanaka* Yoshitō, and *Inouye* Tetsujirō. By a proper selection of this scholastic evidence Tanaka is enabled to conclude that both ancient and modern

1. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

2. *Tanaka*, Tatsu, *Shintō Kanken* (旧中達, 神道管見, "A Birds-eye View of Shintō"), Tokyo, 1915.

3. *Op. cit.*, pp. 1-7.

scholars are one in maintaining that the deities of Shintō are human beings.

"It is here, I believe," says Tanaka, "that the point of reconciliation between Shintō and Christianity is to be found, and for the following reason. In the case of both Shintō and Christianity we have come to employ the same term for deity, namely *kami*. Although the sound is identical in each case, as a matter of fact, there is a fundamental difference. Both Hirata and *Ise* Teijō have repeatedly complained that it has been the source of much confusion to have applied the Chinese ideogram for deity[1] to the Japansse word *kami*. In the same way, I consider it regrettable that either the Chinese form or the Japanese term *kami* has been used to express the Christian conception of Jehovah."[2]

It is important to take note of the ethical qualities which Tanaka emphasizes as fundamental in Shintō. Following in the lead of *Tanaka* Yoshitō and *Inouye* Tetsujirō he reduces Shintō ethics to the operation of three primary virtues, wisdom, benevolence and valor.[3] These are regarded as having been particularly prominent in the Japanese race from most ancient times right down to the present. Through the influence of foreign cults, however, notably Confucianism and Buddhism, this pure Shintō indigenous to Japan has been modified and corrupted. It is not difficult to see in this a reaffirmation of the arguments of the Shintō revivalists of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Tanaka concludes that if the syncretistic elements introduced through contact with foreign religions and also the impurities that have survived out of primitivity—both Japanese and foreign—could be eliminated from modern Shintō, then as a consequence popular Shintō with its supernaturalism and superstition

1. 神.

2. Tanaka, *Op. cit*, p. 7.

3. 智, 仁, 勇, Tanaka, *Op. cit.*, p. 80; *Cf. Inouye*, Tetsujiro, in *Toa no Hikari*, Vol. V, No. 7; Vol. 10, No. 8; also *Kokumin Dōtoku Gairon*, p. 138.

would probably die. This he believes would be greatly to the advantage of pure Shintō. What would be left would be an expression of the Japanese spirit which would find the objects of ceremonial and devotion altogether within the human realm, that is, within the field of Japanese society. "I have no objection," Tanaka adds, "to defining Shintō as that spiritual activity which expresses itself in development with Japan as center [after *Inouye* Tetsujirō]. In this sense Shintō cannot be taken as a religion. If Shintō is not a religion, then the popular perplexity with regard to Shintō is solved and followers of other cults can believe in their religions in peace. The main motive of the government in actually dividing Shintō into two parts and attaching one part to the Bureau of Shrines and the other to the Bureau of Religions is probably to be found here."[1]

That the interpretation which Tanaka makes is strongly influenced by Japanese nationalism and yet, at the same time, is religious in its fundamental interest, is apparent without further elaboration.

Dr. *Takagi* Jintarō, who until his recent death was one of the leaders of the Christian movement in Japan, found opportunity on the occasion of the dedication of the Meiji Shrine in the autumn of 1920 to write, "The relation of the Shintō shrines to religion is a matter in which even among scholars there is not unanimity of opinion. The government, however, has completely separated the shrines from religion. The government, by making a distinction between Shrine Shintō (*Jinja Shintō*) and Religious Shintō (*Shūkyō Shintō*) has made it plain that the shrines are not religious institutions." Dr. Takagi calls attention to the shrine laws of 1900 and 1913 which put Christianity, Buddhism, and Shintō sects under the control of the Bureau of Religions in the Department of Education while placing the shrines in charge of the Bureau of Shrines in the Department of Home Affairs and on the basis of this legal distinction says,

57. Tanaka, *Op. cit.*, pp. 81-2.

"Thus it is that the shrines are altogether outside of religion. To be sure, it cannot be said that at present there is a complete elimination of religious elements in the shrines. Such practices as the distribution of charms and the making of vows to the gods still exist. On the part of multitudes of people the shrines are worshipped as the objects of religious faith. This gives basis to the arguments that the shrines are religious. But in as much as the government classifies them as not religious and is laboring to separate them from religion, there is no necessity that we should insist that they are religious. We also should put forth efforts to separate the shrines as far as possible from all religious elements." The majority of the shrines, according to Dr. Takagi's view, are dedicated to ancestral *kami*, that is, to emperors, national heroes, and those who have won merit in the service of the state. "The shrines have their origin in the idea of reverence for ancestors and are not expressive of the religious spirit." This interpretation agrees with that of *Tanaka* Tatsu in the view that the great *kami* of Shintō are men. On the other hand, the God of Christianity is the Great Spirit of Life who created the worlds and who providentially directs human history. He cannot be made the property of a single race or nation. If the *kami* commemorated at the shrines were of such a nature as to entitle them to occupy the position of the God of Christianity, then Christians would of course be unable to worship them, but this is not the case. Since the *kami* of the shrines are the ancestors of the Imperial Family and the spirits of Japanese heroes, their nature differs altogether from that of the God of Christianity. Dr. Takagi concludes: "Thus it is that our feeling in venerating these (the ancestral *kami*) and our feeling in case of worshiping the One God are inherently different. For this reason shrine reverence is not a thing that cannot be harmonized with Christian faith."

The same writer speaks of the newly dedicated Meiji shrine as a *kinen butsu*, "a memorial institution." He compares the shrines with the commemorative statues and buildings of Europe

and America. The real meaning of the shrines is not essentially different from that of Westminster Abbey and the Pantheon. "To be sure," he says, "the shrines of our country differ in form from these memorial institutions, but in inner meaning they are similarly related to commemoration and gratitude."[1]

Ebina Danjō and *Kozaki* Hiromichi may be taken as further representatives of this same Christian-Shintō school. Dr. Ebina has long advocated that the Christian forces of Japan should build on the official determination that the national shrines are merely for the promotion of national morality and in no sense religious. He significantly says, "Unless we Christians hold fast to that distinction we are bound to have trouble."[2] This same writer finds it regrettable, however, that there still lingers about the shrines the odor of an old religion and fears the results of possible compromise with lingering religious ideas and practices.

Dr. Kozaki likewise finds any difficulties between Christianity and official Shintō precluded by the government declaration of 1882 making the shrines of no connection with religious Shintō. "The shrines," he says, "are institutions where those who have won merit in the service of the state are commemorated and they are altogether without relation to religion."[3] He declares that they are "*kinen-hi no gotoki mono*," objects comparable with monuments."[4]

It would seem fair to state that these Christian writers are either consciously or unconsciously interpreting the situation in such a way as to gain standing room for Christianity. In securing this form of Christian-Shintō apologetic the government

1. *Takagi*, Jintarō, *Jinja to Shūkyō ni tsuite* (高木壬太郎, 神社ト宗教ニ就テ, "Concerning Shrines and Religion", *Kyōkai Jihō* ("The Christian Times," Methodist), Nov. 12, 1920, No. 1524.

2. *Ebina*, Danjō, "Stumbling Blocks in the Way of Japanese Inquirers and How to Remove Them," *Japan Evangelist*, Feb., 1915, (entire article, pp. 78-81), p. 80.

3. *Kozaki*, Hiromichi, *Kokka to Shūkyō* (小崎弘道, 國家ト宗教, "Religion and the Nation"), Tokyo, 1913, p. 83.

4. *Op. cit.*, p. 265.

policy has attained some success, at least as far as certain individuals are concerned.[1] The shrines here function as the means of "centralizing the thought of the people" and at the same time religious satisfactions are secured elsewhere. It is very much to be doubted, however, if the solution is thus easy, trusting as it does in the finality of legal definition and resting on the assumptions that the great deities of official Shintō are merely historical ancestors and that the Japanese idea of *kami* is fundamentally different from ordinary supernaturalism. Private opinion in the Christian church is far from agreeing unanimously with the solutions offered by such men as Tanaka, Takagi and Kozaki. The resolutions of Christian groups as such have already been stated.

The Christian-Shintō solution is willing to go even farther than the government in advocating a radical reformation in "reverence for the shrines," whereby they may be made an even stronger support for Japanese national morality. The program advocated involves two primary measures.

1. The interpretation that official Shintō is not a religion is, likewise, being given wide-spread circulation outside of Japan. For example, De Forest, writing in 1905, says "Japan now has no state religion." Government subsidy is given the shrines, "not because of their religious character, but because they are historic monuments worthy of being maintained as silent teachers of the past." (De Forest, *Religions of Mission Fields*, p. 41). Alfred Stead is of the opinion that the completeness with which Japan has succeeded in separating church and state constitutes a model for the western world. He says, "Not only is there no State Church, but from the national standpoint there is an absolute equality where the various religions are concerned. . . . . To sum up, then, the Western World may learn from Japan the dangers of a State Church, the elimination of politics from religion, tolerance, and a desire to seek out and help on the best in all creeds." (See T. J. S. L., Vol. VII, 1905-6, Pt. II, p. 194). The *Japan Gazette* year-book says, "It is noteworthy that in Japan religion, except in general practice, has no connection with politics." (*The 'Japan Gazette' Japan Year Book*, 1913-14, p. 285). Mr. N. Katō, writing for the Japan Society of London, remarks, "As to the religious teaching in the school, I do not know how the Government could see the way through to its introduction, as there is no State Religion in Japan." (T. J. S. L., Vol. XVI, 1917-18, p. 142). Hamilton Wright Mabie wrote in 1914, "Shintō is no longer a religion; it is a profound national sentiment. It never was a religion properly speaking; but nature worship was combined with it to satisfy the cravings of primitive worshipers." (*Japan To-day and To-morrow*,

In the first place, it urges the eradication of certain incongruous institutions at present connected with "reverence for the shrines," e.g. prostitute quarters in the environs of the shrines, as at Ise, Kasama, Tsukuba and elsewhere, also circuses, theatricals and moving picture shows established on shrine grounds at the time of important festivals.

The second part of the program is more serious. It urges a government educational policy so completely carried out as to separate absolutely the shrines from all religion. Children in the public schools rather than being taken to visit the shrines, should be frankly taught that the "gods" of the shrines are mere men and not the proper objects of religious worship. Such a vigorous educational policy would necessitate the abandonment of all superstitions at present connected with the shrines, as for example, the beliefs that a deity or a group of deities actually inhabit the shrines, that deities can be moved about from shrine to shrine, or that sacrifice and ritual are efficacious in establishing favorable relations with the *kami*.[1]

We may turn next to the consideration of the nationalistic-religious interpretation of Shintō, in which modern Shintoists are deliberately attempting to appraise the shrines as religious institutions.

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p. 27). Mr. K. Watanabe, speaking before the Second International Congress of the History of Religions said of Shintō, "Seine moralischen Vorschriften üben noch einen tiefen Einfluss auf das sittliche Leben aus. Allein er ist keine Religion mehr, sondern nur noch ein Zeremoniell bei festlichen nationalen Anlässen. . . . . Diese Tempel sind bloss Verehrungsdenkmäler für die bedeutenden Männer, die Japan grosse Dienste geleistet haben. Die Priester sind nur Verwaltungsbeamte dieser Tempel." (*Actes du Deuxieme Congres International d'Histoire des Religions*, Bale, 1904, pp. 103-4). See also Brinkley, *Japan, Described and Illustrated by the Japanese*, Vol. II, p. 203; Griffis, W. E., *The Mikado, Institution and Person*, p. 33.

1. See J. E., 1914 (Aug.), pp. 341 ff.; *Shinjin*, July, 1914.

CHAPTER IV.

Japanese Interpretations of Shintō: The Religious Definition.

The most elaborate attempts that have yet been made by any modern Japanese writers to set forth Shintō as a religion are undoubtedly those recently undertaken by Dr. *Kakehi* Katsuhiko[1] of the Law Department of the Imperial University of Tokyo and independently by Dr. *Katō* Genchi,[2] lecturer on religion in the same institution and professor in the Military College of Tokyo.

In the treatment accorded the subject by Dr. Kakehi an effort is made to expand Shintō into a great, all-inclusive world-religion, embracing within itself Buddhism, Confucianism, the thirteen Shintō sects, Christianity, Taoism, and Mohammedanism.[3] "Shintō," says Kakehi, "is the faith at the basis of all religions." "It is the religion of religions."[4]

A perusal of Kakehi's discussion soon reveals the fact, however, that deeply interested as he apparently is in religion, he is still more interested in politics. The world-wide expansion of Shintō which he contemplates is not the application of a generous religious syncretism; it involves, on the other hand, at its very center, an extension of the Japanese political system in which special importance is attached to the inculcation of respect for the *jure divino* claims of Japanese sovereignty to-

1. *Kakehi*, Katsuhiko, *Koshindō Taigi* (筧克彦, 古神道大義, "The Essentials of Old Shintō"), Tokyo, 1912; *Zoku Koshindō Taigi* (續古神道大義, "The Essentials of Old Shintō, Continued"), 2 Vols., Tokyo, 1914, 1915.

2. *Katō*, Genchi, *Waga Kokutai to Shintō*, (加藤玄智, 我が國體と神道, "Our National Organization and Shintō"), Tokyo, 1919.

3. *Zoku Koshindō Taigi*, Vol. II, p. 836.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*

gether with reverence for the imperial line as descended from the gods. Claims so extraordinary, coming as they do from such a source, require further definition.

In Kakehi's theology, the basis of all life is the *Uchū no Dai Seimei*, "The Great Life of the Universe." "The deep and mighty consciousness existing within us is god (*kami*)."[1] "God is the unchanging foundation (of all things). If we accept his existence, we can explain the universe; if we deny it we can explain nothing."[2] Thus, the idea of God is found necessary to a rational explanation of the world; yet God is to be known and met with not simply through the operation of intelligence but also through human emotional and volitional experiences. This divine force is omnipresent, dwelling in all people and things and expressing itself in human life and activity.[3]

All this is ordinary enough as far as the theology is concerned. Kakehi here stands on ground well worn by the feet of other men. This is, however, but the beginning. Kakehi's interest lies in the direction of equating this monistic theology with the contents of a portion of the most ancient Japanese mythology, thereby making possible the transition from the modern situation to old Shintō. This transition is accomplished by declaring that the first deity mentioned in the *Kojiki*, namely, *Ame-no-mi-naka-nushi-no-kami* ("The Deity August Lord of the Center of Heaven") is identical with the Great Life of the Universe.[4] Thus, at the very beginning of Japanese history, the great spirit which Kakehi makes central in his modern world view was known, named and worshipped by the Japanese people.

Kakehi forthwith proceeds to take up the discussion of the system of the *kami* (*kami-gami no keitō*), that is, their relationships and functions, and develops more specifically the nature

1. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 470.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 471.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 469-472.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 474 ff.

of *Ame-no-mi-naka-nushi-no-kami*.[1] We may note the main points.

1. This deity exists both in and above the empirical universe.[2] He is both immanent and transcendent. He surrounds the visible world and partakes of its nature just as an outer, enveloping circle or sphere includes but transcends a smaller concentric one.[3] Thus dwelling above the phenomenal universe of human experience, he is yet a most intimate and inseparable part thereof. He possesses the attributes of *dōji-dōsho*,[4] "same-time-same-place," yet, although existing in all times and in all places, he is nevertheless superior to temporal and spatial limitations.

2. The designation, *naka* ("center" or "middle") in the title of this deity, is not to be taken as indicating localization in a central place in heaven (*Ama*), thought of as part of the existing universe. Centrality is referable to him not in a physical spatial sense, but in the sense that all depends on him.[5]

3. He is both *sōsetsu* and *hisōsetsu*,[6] that is, with reference to the phenomenal world, he is both creator and the thing created. In the work of creation he exhibits both an active and a passive function. "Life," says the author, "is not simply a force that creates, but is likewise something that is created."[7] From this standpoint Kakehi criticises the traditional Christian idea of God as incomplete, since God is therein presented merely as creator and not as also created object.

4. He is *fushō-fumetsu-fuzō-fuhen*,[8] "without beginning, without end, without increase, without decrease." He is the unaltering basis and background of flux in the phenomenal

1. *Ibid.*
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 476-8.
3. After Hegel.
4. 同時 同所. *Cf. Zoku Koshindō Taigi*, Vol. I, p. 480.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 479-80.
6. 創設被創設. *Cf. op. cit.*, p. 483.
7. *Ibid.*
8. 不生 不滅 不增 不減. *Cf. op. cit.*

world, transcending all change. Kakehi admits that at this point his terminology is borrowed from Buddhism. One can press his indebtedness even farther. He borrows from Buddhism not only his words but his ideas also.

This general philosophical background is thoroughly essential to Kakehi's entire politico-religious construction. In other words, the idea of a static absolute is vital to his system in order that he may secure an absolute guarantee for the finality of certain institutions of state in which he is interested. It is altogether appropriate and expected, then, that the closing words of his entire lengthy discussion should be an appendix the chief burden of which is the fixed nature of ultimate reality. "Reality is a static thing (*fudō*) that expresses itself by means of motion; and, again, it is dynamic force expressing a static reality."[1]

This Absolute has its unique and full revelation in the Japanese race. The expression of the Great Life of the Universe found in early Japanese history is ancient Shintō. That is to say, early Shintō involved a conception of the existence of a great, all-inclusive spirit, manifested in the life of each individual human being. What is found in the old religion, we are told, "is not a philosophy, is not a theory; it is the spirit itself; nay, it is the Great Life itself."[2] This gives Kakehi a basis for declaring that Shintō is so great, so comprehensive as to include all religions. Buddha, Confucius, Lao Tse, and Jesus Christ were all missionaries of Shintō.[3] In such a way as this, although Christianity is regarded as imperfect, it is not opposed as antagonistic to the Japanese national constitution (*kokutai*). Christian missionaries and "people at large" are accused of holding the opinion that such antagonism exists, but Kakehi declares that it is an idea that cannot persist. On the other hand, he says, "It is by all means necessary to appreciate the essence of the

1. *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, Appendix, following p. 1118.
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 463.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 464-5.

spirit of Jesus, himself, and to save and develop this by means of the Great Spirit of Shintō."[1]

Kakehi finds support for his claims concerning the comprehensiveness of Shintō in the fact that it constituted the foundation of the entire cultural life of ancient times.[2] In the functioning of old Shintō, political and religious spheres were not distinguished. The Great Spirit of Shintō embraced and controlled all human activities. "This," we are told, "constitutes the uniqueness and nobility of the Japanese national constitution."[3]

The fallacy in Kakehi's position at this particular point is immediately evident to any one at all familiar with the outlines of primitive religion. That which Kakehi selects as a unique factor is in reality the very point at which ancient Shintō clearly indicates the extent to which it is to be equated, in general type, with primitive religion everywhere. That which here is the "nobility" of earliest Japanese culture, is likewise "nobility" in other fields. One of the outstanding marks of primitivity is undifferentiation in the political and religious life of the group. All activities, law, ethics, politics and religion were mingled in a general mass and a religious interest penetrated all.[4]

Criticism of Dr. Kakehi's identification of *Uchū-no-Dai-Seimei* and *Ame-no-mi-naka-nushi-no-kami* can best be conducted by an examination of the source material on which the conclusions are supposed to rest. This material is to be found at the very beginning of the mythological section of the *Kojiki*. The portion of the text under consideration, as translated by Chamberlain, reads:

"The names of the deities that were born in the Plain of High Heaven when the Heaven and Earth began were the

1. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 553.
2. *Ibid*, Vol. I, pp. 466-9.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 467.
4. *Cf.* Irving King, *The Development of Religion* (New York, 1910), pp. 89-91.

Deity Master-of-the-August-Center-of-Heaven, next the High-August-Producing-Wondrous-Deity, next the Divine-Producing-Wondrous-Deity. These three deities were all deities born alone, and hid their persons."[1]

All this is remarkable enough. Others besides Kakehi have found in it occasion for maintaining that traces of primitive monotheism, expressed in a trinitarian formula, can be discerned in the most ancient Japanese records.[2] At first glance the old mythology may appear to confirm the contention of Kakehi. But when we remember that the passage given above is *all* that the *Kojiki* has to say about *Ame-no-mi-naka-nushi-no-kami*, we perceive immediately how frail is the foundation upon which he has constructed his theology. While it is true that both the second and the third deities of this triad reappear later in the mythology, the very one selected by him for his great equation, after this bare mention, vanishes completely from the *Kojiki*. The *Nihongi*, except for one variant, omits this deity altogether. Not only so, but the Rituals give no indication whatever of this deity having occupied even a humble place in the ceremonial of old Japan. While it is true that modern popular usage has given this god a place among the deities of the shrines,[3] yet we must conclude that the exaggerated importance assigned him by Dr. Kakehi rests on a subjective and unhistorical use of the sources. Idealistic monism, centering in *Ame-no-*

1. *Cf.* C., p. 15. The Japanese titles of these deities, given in the order of the text, are *Ame-no-mi-naka-nushi-no-kami*, *Taka-mi-musubi-no-kami* and *Kami-musubi-no-kami*.

2. *Cf. Katō*, Genchi, "*Ame-no-mi-naka-nushi-no-kami*," T. A. S. J., Vol. XXXVI, Pt. I, pp. 141-162. Katō attempts to show that the study of this deity, in the light of the modern science of religion, reveals traces of primitive monotheism. The extent to which he makes use of the argument from silence, as well as the argument that the study of comparative religion favors his hypothesis, necessitates the acceptance of his conclusions only with radical qualifications.

3. *Cf. Ojima*, Sancharu, *Tettei sezaru Jinja Ron* (尾島眞治, 徹底せざる神社論, "Unconvincing Arguments Regarding Shrines"), *Shinjin*, Vol. 17, 1916 (May), pp. 77-78.

mi-naka-nushi-no-kami, is not in the original record. Kakehi gets it from modern philosophy, not from the *Kojiki*.

In his scheme Kakehi thoroughly provides, however, for the worship at local shrines of this "Great Life of the Universe," thus included in the ancient Shintō pantheon. This he accomplishes by arbitrarily introducing into the original trinity the great sun-goddess, *Ama-terasu ō-mi-kami*.[1] The two "producing" deities, *Taka-mi-musubi-no-kami* and *Kami-musubi-no-kami* are declared to be but one in essence—a two-fold expression of but one "producing god," *musubi-no-kami*.[2] Then we are told that *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami* is identical with *Mi-musubi-no-kami*.[3] The trinity is now complete. What we may term the first person thereof is *Ame-no-mi-naka-nushi-no-kami*, which, in Kakehi's scheme, means simply another name for the Great Life of the Universe, *Uchū-no-Dai-Seimei*. The second person is *Mi-musubi-no-kami*, a title that is used "when we consider deity from the standpoint of competency to function in activity."[4] The third person is *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami*, "The Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity." This last named *kami*, Kakehi declares, is the visible historical incarnation of the second. Thus by virtue of the equation inside the trinity, that exists between *Ame-no-mi-naka-nushi-no-kami* and *Mi-musubi-no-kami*, the cult activities that center in the sun-goddess, "*Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami*, are carried over to the invisible Great Spirit of the Universe. "If one wishes to worship *Ame-no-mi-naka-nushi-no-kami* one must worship *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami*, and by worshipping the latter we worship the former."[5] Kakehi even inserts in this connection a parenthetical reference to a tradition that formerly there existed a belief that *Ame-no-mi-naka-nushi-no-kami* was enshrined in the great *Gegu*, or Outer Shrine at Ise. This is mere

1. *Zoku Koshindō Taigi*, Vol. I, pp. 489 ff.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 487-8.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 489.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 487.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 490.

supposition. The central deity of the ceremonial and belief at *Gegu* is *Toyo-uke-bime-no-kami*, the ancient Japanese food goddess.[1]

It is to be granted that Japanese mythology in places closely relates the activities of *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami* and *Taka-mi-musubi-no-kami*. It is impossible to do justice to the ancient records, however, and fail to see that these two *kami*, although frequently represented as acting in concert are not philosophized and presented as though one were the incarnation of the other. One does not dwell as an unseen deity "above" and the other down below as the earthly embodiment thereof. Both live in *Takama-ga-Hara* ("Heaven") and, although functioning as partners in various activities, they are no more closely related than certain other deities in the extensive Japanese pantheon, e.g. *Izanagi* and *Izanami*. The best corrective to be applied to Kakehi's reasoning here, is the simple statement of the *Kojiki* that *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami* was born from the left eye of *Izanagi*, "The-Male-Who-Invites," as he purified himself in a river on the island of Tsukushi.[2] This is undoubtedly the original mythology.

Dr. Kakehi's entire theological construction leads up to an interpretation of the person of the Japanese Emperor.[3] The Emperors of Japan, reaching in one long, unbroken line back to the very beginning of life as expressed in the Japanese race constitute the temporal extension of *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami*. This deity was the great ancestress of the Japanese sovereigns. She willed to send her grandson, *Ninigi-no-mikoto*, into the "Central Land of Reed-Plains" [Japan] to dwell therein and rule over it.[4] In such a way imperial rights of dominion over the Japanese islands rest on the unalterable command of deity. Behind the sovereign rights of the Japanese imperial line, lies an

1. *Cf.* T. A. S J., Vol. II, pp 99-121.
2. C., p. 42.
3. *Zoku Koshindō Taigi*, Vol. I, pp. 499-501, Vol. II, pp. 1112 ff.
4. *Cf.* C., pp. 106-111.

explicit revelation of the will of the Absolute made through the command of *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami*. All the Japanese Emperors, from Jimmu Tennō right down to the reigning sovereign maintain an actual flesh and blood connection with this great deity. They continue her attributes; they express the original intent of god. The Emperor is thus connected in an unbroken genealogical line not with *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami*, merely, but with the Great Life of the Universe, itself.[1]

The Emperor of Japan thus becomes the personal continuation in time of conceptions and institutions that were begun in heaven (*Takama-ga-Hara*).[2] Kakehi says, "His person [the Emperor's] constitutes the central point at which these things are realized here below. Therefore, the Emperor is god revealed in man. He is Manifest Deity (*Aki-tsu-mi-kami*)[3] . . . . Above all things else, we must so serve as to increase the divine radiance of the Emperor. Ever worshipping His excessive light, we must determine to extend and exalt the divine essence which we, ourselves, possess. This is not merely a hope, but already in the present we are realizing it in spite of all difficulties."[4]

Again he says, "The Emperors of our country are persons equipped with qualities without parallel in the world; they are both the centers of (religious) faith and of temporal power."[5] The following also should be noted. "All the fine relations existing between the Emperor, who is Manifest Deity, and the beneficent personages of heaven, all the mutual relations of men from morality, politics, and law, to manners and customs—whatever they may be, great or small—all are manifestations of the life of deity. But these things have no existence if separated from an effort which causes the light of the Emperor to shine

1. *Zoku Koshindō Taigi*, Vol. pp. 489 ff.
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 1114.
3. 明御神.
4. *Zoku Koshindō Taigi*, Vol. II, pp. 1114-1115.
5. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 500.

more and more and which while revering that august light, constantly glorifies it."[1]

Finally—"The center of this phenomenal world is the Mikado's Land[2] [*Mi-kuni*, i.e. Japan]. From this center we must expand this Great Spirit throughout the world."[3] Kakehi declares with enthusiasm, "There are voices which cry, 'Great Japan is the Land of the Gods.' Nor is this to be wondered at. It is a true statement of fact. It is a matter of course. The expansion of Great Japan throughout the world and the elevation of the entire world into the Land of the Gods is the urgent business of the present and, again, it is our eternal and unchanging object."[4]

The method of this expansion Kakehi does not altogether make plain. His emphasis on the fundamental importance of faith and a disposition of sincerity would lead one to expect that the extension throughout the world is to be accomplished by the joint appeal of high ideals and consistent thinking. In this connection Professor Kakehi has attempted to forecast the future of Shintō by measuring it alongside of the characteristics that must be possessed by the true religion of the future.[5] He says that the religion of the future must be purged of all superstitions and useless forms. It must be of such a nature as to furnish the foundation of all social life. It must possess elasticity, that is to say, the essential matters in both ceremony and doctrine must be presented in such forms as to be readily intelligible to all men everywhere and yet there must be such profundity and boundlessness as to introduce harmony and peace into the confusion of human thought and practice. Similarly, it must be of such comprehensiveness as to make room for all the important faiths of man. Kakehi's idea of Shintō as constituting an original Japanese

1. *Ibid*, Vol. II, Appendix, following p. 1118.
2. 皇國.
3. *Zoku Koshindō Taigi*, Vol. II, p. 1114.
4. *Koshindō Taigi*, p. 237.
5. *Zoku Koshindō Taigi*, Vol. II, pp. 845-853.

expression of idealistic monism makes it possible for him to declare that Shintō meets these conditions of a world religion for the future. Kakehi admits that popular Shintō needs to get rid of certain nonessential superstitions and useless forms, but this process of expurgation does not involve essentials. He feels that the capacity of Shintō to become the foundation of all social life is evidenced by the directive function which it exercised in the total life of old Japan. Its elasticity and comprehensiveness are witnessed by the fact that the great religious teachers of the world have simply expressed the essentials of Shintō, as also by the fact that in actual Japanese history the fate of Confucianism and Buddhism has been that they have been gradually transfused by the Japanese spirit, Shintōized, as it were. The same thing must be expected regarding the future of Christianity in Japan. Kakehi feels that Japan furnishes the center from which the development of the religion of the future must work itself out under the formative influence of Shintō, for here in Japan all the great religions of the world are meeting as nowhere else on earth and are inevitably tending toward some sort of mutual adjustment. Kakehi's observations present material worthy of most serious reflection. Yet if this were all that is involved in his teaching, the future of his system, in spite of its Japanese complexion, would simply be that of idealistic monism. But, like Hegel, Kakehi writes with one eye on the Absolute and the other on the imperial institutions of the Fatherland. The extent to which Kakehi goes in merging his religious program with the Japanese political system, makes the future of Shintō identical, not with that of idealism, but with Japanese imperialism. Nationalism is here built into a religious cult that seeks to find its sanctions in the unalterable nature of the Absolute. Further, the feeling of obligation to extend the system throughout the world takes on the form of an intense religious fervor. The extension of such a system among intelligent men can only be accomplished by the establishing of external control over human thought and action. This necessarily involves the use of the military arm of

government. That Kakehi's politico-religious structure rests to no small extent on a military basis is to be seen in his theory of the relation of soldiers and Emperor. In a word, the former is a function of the latter. "Military men discharge their functions through the power of the Emperor . . . . and in truth, are an extension of the existence of the Emperor."[1] In view of Kakehi's theory of sovereignty this seems to be open to but one interpretation, namely, that what the military arm of the government does under imperial control has back of it the sanction of an absolute divine initiative.

Throughout his discussion Kakehi's object seems to be twofold:

(1). To strengthen the Japanese national spirit by supplying a religious foundation for a confidence of superiority as a chosen people.

(2). To utilize the popular belief in Shintō as the basis of a political apology for *Tennō Shuken Setsu* ("Theory of Imperial Sovereignty") with a world-wide application. By interpreting the Japanese Imperial power as the temporal extension of the Absolute, the former is invested with aspects of inviolability and eternity that guarantee unchanging perpetuity in human history.

Dr. Katō's presentation of the philosophical or theological basis of the Japanese state, while less elaborate than that of Dr. Kakehi, is on the other hand, much more systematic and objective.[2] The effort is made to support the discussion with a wealth of citations from Japanese sources together with abundant references to contemporary literature. On the whole the treatment may be taken as the most authoritative exposition of the religious nature of modern official Shintō that has yet appeared. The author attempts to build up his

1. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 670; *cf.* also *ibid.*, pp. 670-674.

2. A valuable study of Dr. Katō's exposition of modern Shintō will be found in Pieters, Albertus, "Emperor Worship in Japan," *International Review of Missions*, 1920 (July), pp. 340-356. Reprinted in the *Japan Advertiser*, Apr. 14, 15, 16, 1921.

thesis in a progressive, orderly fashion with the use of the materials furnished by the study of Comparative Religion. His important points are summarized below.

Japanese national life (*kokutai*) has developed mainly under the influence of a theory and practice which regards the Emperor as a Divine Being. This conception is indeed the foundation of Japanese national organization.

Japanese historical documents consistently classify the Emperor as divine. "The position occupied by *Ten*[1] and *Jōtei*[2] among the Chinese or by Jehovah among the Jews has been held in Japan from ancient times by the Emperor."[3] "From ancient times the Emperor has been called by such titles as *Aki tsu kami*[4] (Manifest Deity), *Ara hito kami*[5] (Incarnate Deity), and *Ara mi kami*[6] (Incarnate Deity.)"[7] This attribution to the Emperor of a position of association on equal terms with deity is likewise indicated by such titles as *Shison*,[8] *Shujō*[9] and *Kami go ichi nin*[10] as applied to the Emperor, all of which, according to Dr. Katō's exposition, may be taken as essentially the same as the titles "Most High" and "Lord" applied to Jehovah.[11]

The strength of this idea is seen in its effect on the development of Buddhism. "A world religion such as Buddhism, when it has once entered Japan, under the influence of our national life, becomes a Japanese Buddhism with its center in the Imperial House."[12]

1. 天.
2. 上帝.
3. Katō, *Waga Kokutai to Shintō*, p. 4. *Cf.* also *ibid.*, pp. 13, 28-29, 66.
4. 明津神.
5. 現人神.
6. 現御神.
7. *Waga Kokutai to Shintō*, p. 4.
8. 至尊.
9. 主上.
10. 上御一人.
11. *Waga Kokutai to Shintō*, p. 6.
12. *Ibid*, p. 12.

This unique divine position of the Japanese Emperor is further seen, for example, in the difference that exists between foreign coronation ceremonies and the ceremonies accompanying the accession to the throne of a Japanese Emperor. Whereas in the former case the king receives his crown from a priest who is the representative of God, in the latter the Japanese Emperor is his own representative, announcing his own succession directly to the spirits of the Imperial Ancestors with whom he appears as an equal.[1] Again, "Whereas in all foreign countries the ruler salutes the flag, in the case of Japan the flag salutes the Emperor."[2]

Added to this belief in the divinity of the Emperor, the author points out another important factor in the elements of Japanese national life, i.e. the position of the Emperor as the racial head of his people. The Emperor is head not merely in the sense of ruler or leader, he is such by actual blood connection.[3] By virtue, then, of this institution of a single line of Divine Emperors unchanging from time immemorial, wherein the Japanese nation finds its racial head, there is imparted to the Japanese national constitution a unique stability in the midst of all the changes of history and at the same time a peerless character among the political and social systems of the world.[4]

Katō next takes up the matter of loyalty regarded as religious faith.[5] The Japanese attitude of consciousness directed toward the Divine Emperor is expressed in the term *chūkō*, "loyalty." Is it religious or is it not? Dr. Katō's discussion results in an equation of loyalty with religious faith. The latter is defined as that attitude of consciousness which is found in

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 24-25.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 25.

3 The basis of this assertion may be seen in the claim made by Japanese historians that out of about 6300 Japanese cognomens some 4900 can be traced back to connections with the Imperial Line. *Cf. Yamagata*, Aritomo, "Emperor Meiji," *The Far East*, Vol. 20, No. 4, Nov. 13, 1920, p. 103.

4. *Waga Kokutai to Shintō*, pp. 28-64.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 66-90.

absolute trust (*zettai teki shinrai*).[1] Evidence is adduced to show that loyalty to the Emperor on the part of Japanese subjects is of such intensity as to warrant identification with this absolute self surrender. "The attitude of consciousness existing in our loyalty and that found in religious faith are identical."[2] In view of the nature of the object of this devotion it follows that the central institution of the Japanese state as found in the Divine Imperial Line is supported by an intense religious feeling. This is the center of Shintō. "Shintō is not simply ethical consciousness as related to secular affairs; its fundamental principle subjectively stated, is that it maintains in loyalty an attitude of consciousness which rivals that of religious faith. This is *Tennō kyō*[3] (Mikadoism), the characteristic product of our national spirit, which worships the Emperor as divine. For this reason Shintō is in truth nothing other than a national religion."[4] It is a religion of loyalty.

The discussion now logically turns to the detailed consideration of the nature of Shintō thus defined as Emperor worship. As a preliminary to this discussion the author takes up the study of the nature of religion itself.[5] "Religion," he says, "is a practical mood of a man's mind toward the divine,"[6] which he further explains to mean that "religion is a practical means whereby man enters into vital relationship with some object or objects regarded as divine. Such objects of religious faith may be either naturalistic (*shizen teki*) or ethical (*rinri teki*). In either case the religious object is regarded as higher than the man himself. The human, mental attitude toward the religious

1. *Ibid*, p. 72.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 80.
3. 天皇教. The term is to be found in neither the *Nihon Hakkwa Dai Jiten* (Encyclopedia Japonica, Tokyo, 1908-19) nor the most extensive of the modern Japanese dictionaries, namely the *Dai Nihon Kokugo Jiten* by Uyeda and Matsui (Tokyo, 1915-19).
4. *Waga Kokutai to Shintō*, pp. 80-81.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 91-122.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 120.

object may be termed faith or belief. This is a state of consciousness signifying either unconditional trust or, in its last phase, absolute freedom, and is not theoretically abstract but is practically concrete."[1]

All religions divide into two great classes, (1) theocratic religion and (2) theanthropic religion. The former emphasizes the divine element and the separation of the human from the divine, the latter emphasizes the human element and the merging of the human with the divine. The former is deo-centric, the latter is homo-centric.[2] Examples of the former are found in Christianity, Buddhism and Mohammedanism. Other religions, including Shintō, are homo-centric, that is, gods and men possess identical attributes.

"The Japanese conception of deity is to be completely identified with the theanthropic system. If finds deities among men and in nature. Men are *kami*; nature is *kami* (*Hito wa sunawachi kami, shizen wa sunawachi kami taru mono nari*)."[3] As for the meaning of *kami*, Dr. Katō declares that the term has the primary significance of such English words as "upper," "above," "higher" or "superior."[4]

Modern official Shintō is thus not merely a system of ethics divorced from religion; its basis is religious. In this connection the author remarks: "To be sure, in our country, acts of loyalty toward the Emperor as the head of our collective family system partake of a moral nature, so that it is hardly necessary to say that one aspect of loyalty permits of an ethical explanation. But in as much as the Emperor, who constitutes the object which imparts life to this loyalty considered as morality, is equipped conjointly with divine and human natures, it follows that that which from an external point of view is regarded as an ethical element, when considered in its deeper aspects, becomes

1. *Ibid.*, p. 119.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 122-124.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 133.
4. *Ibid.*

transfused with the white heat of religious faith. Indeed, the loyalty of the Japanese has been so conspicuously transformed into faith and religion as to lead foreign scholars to go as far as to say that loyalty constitutes the religion of the Japanese people. As has already been explicitly set forth, the Emperor is Incarnate Deity (*Aki-tsu-kami*) and occupies in Japanese faith the position which Jehovah occupied in Judaism. It has also been made clear that the spirit of loyalty which impels our goodly subjects, is nothing other than the heart of faith which controlled the chosen Hebrew people."[1]

"Therefore, from the Japanese standpoint, that attitude of consciousness which stimulates loyalty to the Emperor, regarded as man, when he is regarded as Deity, immediately becomes filled with the content of an enthusiastic religious faith which offers body and spirit as a holy sacrifice. Wherefore, if one regards this merely from the standpoint of morality, it may be designated the unique patriotism of the Japanese. This is the secular aspect of Shintō. It must not be forgotten, however, that Shintō possesses fundamental aspects as well as external, that it is a national *religion* which worships the Emperor as divine."[2]

The author thus advances to a position from which he can pronounce on the essential nature of Shintō. "The pith and essence of Shintō is the unique patriotism of the Japanese together with national morality, transfused with religious feeling."[3] Or again, "the life or essence of Shintō is the unique Japanese patriotism touched by the nationalistic religious enthusiasm of Japanese people. . . . . From ancient times on this has been called *Yamato Damashii*, the Soul of Japan. It may also appropriately be termed Mikadoism or the nationalistic adoration of the Emperor. The psychological attitude of the Japanese as directed toward the Emperor is neither mere respect nor simple

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 219-220.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 221-222.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 222.

obeisance; it is reverence and adoration, that is to say, it is worship (*sūhai*). This is the ultimate truth of Shintō. Shintō is not merely moral consciousness. It must never be forgotten that it includes the white heat of a fervent religious devotion, namely, Mikadoism, the nationalistic adoration of the Emperor."[1]

Dr. Katō's treatment in a word amounts to an exposition of the Japanese state as a theocracy in which a divine being manifested in human form exercises the prerogatives of ultimate control. Shintō is the cult of religious loyalty to the divine imperial line and the sacred Japanese institutions which it centralizes.

The author takes up the matter of the position of the official shrines in the thought world of Japan. Are the shrines merely cult centers where the moral sentiments of the Japanese people are crystalized? Are they merely social and historical institutions where the great and virtuous of the past are honored and remembered? Such a point of view is emphatically denied by Dr. Katō. For, when we consider the historical origin of the shrines and their function in Japanese society, we find (to quote) that, "they are sacred spots where deity is supplicated and where prayers for the future are offered."[2] The great spring and harvest festivals, for example, cannot possibly be legitimately construed as mere secular ceremonials. Those connected with the planting of crops presuppose the existence of supernatural power to which appeal is made for good harvests, those in the autumn (*Niiname Matsuri*) contain the primary elements of thanksgiving to the *kami* for blessings received. Hence "we cannot pass over the fact that these ceremonials are accompanied by a faith in the divine aid of a great spiritual power. . . . . The shrines cannot be limited as being merely edifices where past heroes are commemorated in an ethical sense. The affairs of the festivals are pure religion. To regard these as other than

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 222-223.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 235.

religious is indeed a biased interpretation and must be pronounced an extreme misrepresentation of the shrines."[1]

Dr. Katō finds in Shintō, elements so thoroughly satisfactory to religious feeling as to entitle it to favorable consideration along with Christianity and Buddhism. In Shintō we may discern a deep faith in a higher spiritual and ethical world, the idea of the incarnation of the divine in the human,[2] the institutions of prayer,[3] priests and priestesses,[4] ceremonies and worship and authority that ultimately resides in the state itself. In intellectual and ethical content it takes high rank among the religions of the world, due primarily to the great organizing principle of Divine, Imperial Sovereignty.[5] Buddhism emphasizes mercy, Christianity love, Confucianism humanity; Shintō teaches honesty and sincerity.[6] On the basis, then, of close resemblance in fundamental aspects between the great religions that at present occupy the field in Japan, Dr. Katō anticipates ultimate reconciliation.[7]

This recognition of the ideal of final human reconciliation on the basis of universal brotherhood will be welcomed by all who are interested in the permanent good of man. Again, it must be frankly admitted that Dr. Katō's discussion raises difficult problems for advocates of the absoluteness of any single religion resting on the claims of an exclusive supernaturalism. His exposition seems to recognize clearly the fact that all religions, Christianity, Buddhism, and Shintō alike, are to be tested by their fundamental value in the social life in which they develop. Shintō, like other religions, is born of a human need. In this sense we can agree with Dr. Katō in finding in Shinto not simply nationalistic local elements, but universal elements as well. Grant-

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 235-7.
2. *Ibid*, pp. 257 ff.
3. *Ibid.*, pp, 196 ff.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 201 ff.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 248-252.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 254.
7. *Ibid.*, pp 262-3.

ing all this, however, it is necessary to add certain reservations concerning Dr. Katō's exposition.

In the first place, on what basis is a valid distinction to be created between certain members of Japanese society regarded as sacred and the great majority made up of the common and profane? Is it to be an ethical distinction? If so, postulations of divinity are to be vindicated on the grounds of character and genuine contribution to human welfare. Or, is it to be metaphysical deity, appearing as a superhuman, miraculous inset in human history? In spite of pantheistic presuppositions it would appear that Dr. Katō's theory of emperor worship would demand an affirmative answer here. Yet, it is difficult to see how this position is to be reconciled with his exposition of the consanguinity existing between the Japanese people and the imperial line which is the racial head. The connection would seem to logically demand the extinction of the difference between the worshippers and the worshipped, and what we would have left would be a divine Japanese race worshipping itself.

The main difficulty does not lie here, however. It lies in the fact that the very center of Dr. Katō's Shintō theology, exactly as in the case of Dr. Kakehi's exposition, is nationalistic political philosophy. Dr. Katō's words are unmistakable in this matter. Comparing the fortunes of Christianity and Buddhism with the prospects of Shintō, he says: "Neither Jesus nor Buddha complied with the political hopes for an ideal king existing in their respective lands, but turned away from the lower world to the world of spiritual things. The conditions of Japan, of India, and of Judea, however, differ with each country. Japan is preeminent above all nations and possesses a firm national foundation. Unlike the Jews her people are not citizens of a ruined land nor again is she possessed like India of an unstable royal house that is subject to rise and decline. She is the recipient of a single Imperial Line that has existed unchanged from time immemorial, towering aloft like mountains and stars, and which shall not change forever. In truth the appearance

of the ideal royal Messiah for whom the Jews earnestly hoped so long but who never actually appeared, or again, the revelation of Cakravarti Rajah, the ideal prince of India, may be seen in the Orient in the likeness of the Japanese Emperor of immemorial line."[1] In his preface Dr. Katō says, "Just as our country possesses in the towering peak of Mt. Fuji a natural beauty unsurpassed in all the world, so also this Orient land of virtuous men, with its historical record stretching across three thousand boundless years, with its Imperial House above reaching in unbroken lineage back to immemorial ages, with its subjects below looking up to this Line as it towers beyond mountains and stars, with its heroes and remarkable men, a country, indeed, not unworthy the name, 'The Land of the Gods'—this land has produced a national organization that is peerless in the earth."[2]

The book which contains these statements was published on February 25, 1919, almost simultaneously with the report of the special commission on education which declared, "the situation is very grave and calls for serious consideration." Whether there may be a connection or not, it is to be said that the exposition of these doctrines of a political Messiah in a divinely descended prince of age long dynasty, of a national organization without a rival in all the world, of an historical record reaching back "three thousand years," and of a loyalty that is unique in human history, while well adapted to foster unlimited contentment with the *status quo* in Japanese political life is, also, so formulated as to raise difficult problems in the relations of official Shintō. In so far as Japanese political life, as centralized in this form of Shintō, may attempt both to strengthen itself within Japan and to propagate itself in the world, we may anticipate the appearance of serious questions arising in connection with the religious and political self-determination of various groups of peoples. The study of comparative religious

1. *Ibid.*, p. 251.
2. *Ibid.*, Preface p. 2.

and political history should warn the Shintoists here. It was exactly its refusal to adjust its nationalism to universal human needs that broke Judaism.

Again, it is to be pointed out that the position of the Emperor in the Japanese state as well as in religion has varied with the changing fortunes of Japanese political history. Japanese history when scientifically studied, clearly teaches this fact.[1] Dr. Katō's exposition reflects the interests of the revival of imperial institutions that began with the Restoration in 1868. The best index of the actual hold of emperor worship on historical Shintō is to be seen in the number of institutions which the sentiment of emperor worship has called into existence. Mr. *Tsuda* Noritake, writing in 1920, says on the point, "Emperors who have been worshipped as deities after death are exceedingly few. The grand total of Shintō shrines in our country today amounts to 110,000. Out of this great number shrines where past Emperors are worshipped total less than ten."[2] Shrines at which the living Japanese Emperor is worshipped cannot be located in modern Shintō. In consideration of such evidence it would appear that Dr. Katō's exposition of the centrality of emperor worship in Shintō is more idealistic and pedagogical than actual. On the other hand, it is not to be denied that Japanese emperors have been regarded as living *kami*. The basis of this belief will be considered in a later discussion.

Although Kakehi and Katō go beyond most other Japanese interpreters in the philosophical elaboration which they extend to Shintō, they are far from standing alone in their religious interpretation of the Imperial House. They represent a contemporary school of Shintō which must be taken into serious consideration in any effort to understand either recent Japanese religious history or the modern political situation.

1. *Cf.* Murdoch, James, *A History of Japan*, Vol. I, pp. 107-8, 118-121, 184-6, 280, 296-366, 401, 442-50, 455-9, 540, 562-588; Vol. II, pp. 17, 360-61, 372-7.

2. *Tsuda*, Noritake, *Shintō Kigen Ron* (津田敬武, 神道起原論, "An Essay on the Origins of Shintō," Tokyo, 1920), p. 247.

Itō Hirobumi, writing in his *Commentaries on the Constitution* in 1889, said, "The Sacred Throne was established at the time when the heavens and the earth became separated. The Emperor is Heaven descended, divine and sacred; He is preeminent above all His subjects. He must be reverenced and is inviolable. He has indeed to pay due respect to the law, but the law has no power to hold him accountable to it. Not only shall there be no irreverence for the Emperor's person, but also He shall not be made a topic of derogatory comment nor one of discussion."[1]

Dr. *Katō* Hiroyuki, apprehensive of a divided loyalty induced by the extension of Christian teaching in Japan, wrote in 1907, "Christianity can never be assimilated to the national organization (*kokutai*) of Japan. Assimilation to the national organization of Japan would mean the complete destruction of the fundamental nature of Christianity. This being the nature of Christianity, it is impossible to say that Christianity is not a danger to the Japanese national organization. The patriarchal government of Japan is peerless among all the nations of the earth and accordingly it is not proper that she should revere a sovereign apart from the Emperor and the Imperial Ancestors. The national organization absolutely forbids that we should have above the sovereign 'the One True God'."[2]

Kume says concerning the Emperor, "He is regarded as a

1. *Itō*, Hirobumi, *Commentaries* (Eng. trans.), Tokyo, 1889, p. 6.

2. *Katō*, Hiroyuki, *Waga Kokutai to Kirisuto Kyō* (加藤弘之, 吾國體と基督教, "Our National Constitution and Christianity," Tokyo, 1907), p. 56. With Dr. Katō's statement may be compared an editorial from the *Keisei* of Feb. 1, 1915, which says, "Even Christian believers, granted that they are Japanese, must understand why our national institution of loyalty to the Imperial House and the custom of ancestor worship are not to be regarded or disregarded as convenience may dictate. . . . . Under the religious freedom, granted by our Constitution, any religious faiths are, or course, permissable, but they must not be in opposition to our national institutions; and on that account European Christianity must be revised so that it can co-exist with these institutions and harmonize with our national character. . . . Therefore if even in the least degree it is desired that Christianity shall strike down its roots, influence the national mind, and thus

living *kami*, loved and revered by the nation above all things on earth, and himself loving and protecting the nation, who are deemed sons of *Kami nagara* and are entrusted to his care by the *kami*. . . . . Thus, Shintō (doctrine of the *kami*) is *kundō* (doctrine of the Emperor) for Shintoism is Mikadoism; 'the *kami's* will is the Emperor's will' is a maxim inscribed on the heart of every Japanese. Herein one may see the fountain-head of our patriotic spirit, whose marvelous activity has served to raise Japan in these fifty years to the level of the first-rate Powers of the world."[1]

In line with this same idea of Shintō, a recent Cabinet official has declared, "The protection and advancement of the country is in the care of the ancestral spirits and their power resides in the Emperor. The use of that power is the work of the Imperial throne. . . . . The central idea of the Japanese state is the belief that the spirits of the Imperial ancestors continue to rule through their living representatives, and from this belief springs the singular national spirit of the Japanese people."[2]

Iyenaga has likewise interpreted the substance of the Shintō of the Restoration period as capable of being expressed in the proposition that the Emperor, as the lineal descendant of the gods, must be revered and worshipped as deity.[3]

More recently Uyehara has given expression to this theory of the Emperor in terms that suggest Kakehi's idea of a unique Japanese revelation of the Absolute. "He [the Emperor] is to the Japanese mind the Supreme Being in the Cosmos of Japan, as God is in the universe of the pantheistic philosopher. From him everything emanates, in him everything subsists. . . . .

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prosper, it is necessary that plans should be made to reconcile it with our great national principles and customs. If to do this it be necessary to throw over the doctrine of a most high God, throw it over." J. E. 1915 (April), pp. 181-2.

1. *Kume*, Kunitake, "Shintō," *Fifty Years of New Japan*, Vol. II, p. 30.
2. *Japan Advertiser*, Nov. 3, 1916.
3. *The Constitutional Development of Japan*, p. 24.

He is supreme in all temporal affairs of the State as well as in all spiritual matters."[1]

Dr. *Hiroike* Senkurō cites with approval the phrase *Aki tsu mi kami taru ryōheika no seitoku*, "the holy virtue of their Majesties, the Emperor and Empress, the Manifest Deities."[2] Dr. Haga in explanation of his idea of the relation between Japanese Emperors and subjects that has continued from the beginning of Japanese history to the present says, "*Kami*, Deity or God, used in the sense of the 'above' is with its honorific prefix 'O,' even now applied for the Mikado—hence the identification of God and Emperor."[3] Mr. *Mochizuki* Kotarō, writing of the Emperor Meiji Tennō in 1913 said, "Not a single Japanese is there who does not regard and obey every utterance of His late Majesty as divine revelation."[4]

These examples could be extended. They reach their climax in the representations made by Dr. *Uesugi* Shinkichi of the Law Department of the Tokyo Imperial University, who says, "Subjects have no mind apart from the will of the Emperor. Their individual selves are merged with the Emperor. If they act according to the mind of the Emperor they can realize their true nature and they can attain the moral ideal. This is the fundamental relationship existing between the Japanese people and their Emperor who is the descendant and extension of the Great Deity [*Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami*]. The organizing will resides inherently in the Emperor and apart from the Imperial mind there exists no organizing will."[5]

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1. *The Political Development of Japan*, p. 23. *Cf.* also *ibid.*, pp. 19, 21.

2. *Jinja Sūkei to Shūkyō* (廣池千九郎, 神社崇敬と宗教, "Shrine Reverence and Religion"), p. 3.

3. *Haga*, Yaeichi, "The Spirit of Japan," T. J. S. L., Vol. XV (1916-17) p. 123.

4. *Mochizuki*, Kotarō, *The Late Emperor of Japan as a World Monarch*, Tokyo, 1913, Preface, p. II.

5. *Uesugi*, Shinkichi, *Kokutai Seikwa no Hatsuyō* (上杉慎吉, 國體精華之發揚, "The Exaltation of the Essence of the National Constitution," Tokyo, 1919,, p. 58. In evaluating Dr. Uesugi's claims it needs to be remembered that

All of these statements, as in the cases of the interpretations made by Dr. G. Katō and by Dr. Kakehi, reflect dynastic interests that have come into special prominence since the Restoration. The political value of the centralizing influence, during the period of rapid change since the beginning of the Meiji Era, of the *idea* of an unchanging and sacred imperial line, is well recognized by Japanese politicians and scholars.[1] Indeed, it is difficult to avoid the impression that such political interest is largely the determining factor in giving form to the interpretation which makes emperor worship the center of modern Shintō. It is easy to pass from this to the position that the chief object of Shintō ceremonials should be the development of sentiments directed toward the maintenance of the imperial throne. This is precisely the line of argument taken by Dr. *Ariga* Nagao in his discussion of *Shintō Kokkyō Ron*, "Shintō as a State Religion." Dr. Ariga attempts to show that the cult of the Shintō shrines is nothing other than a state religion.[2] He recognizes great defici-

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under the existing organization of the Japanese government this Imperial mind is always *mediated* to the people by the various bureaus and departments of the government, and that motives and methods of the intervening mediation are exactly where investigation would have to be made in order to establish the content of the original organizing will.

1. *Cf. Yamashita*, Yoshitarō, "The Influence of Shintō and Buddhism in Japan," T. J. S. L., Vol. IV (1897-8), Pt. IV, p. 257.

2. In summary of this point Dr. Ariga says, "I can by no means agree with the proposition that the festivals [of the Shintō shrines] are not religious Failure to recognize that they are religious amounts to a disregard of reason. . . . . Shintō is to be looked upon as a religion and there is justification for saying that up to the present the state has simply extended protection to a sect of Shintō which has not emphasized doctrine." [" *Shintō Kokkyō Ron*," *Tetsugaku Zasshi*, 1910 (June), pp. 709-715] Prof. *Inouye* Tetsujirō has likewise said, "There are two opinions: that Shintō is a religion, and that it is not a religion If we speak from the standpoint of religious science, of course it is a variety of religion. Furthermore, there are points in Shintō that lie very much at the foundation of Japanese national morality. . . . . However, elementary it may appear as a religion, yet from the point of view of its relations with the national constitution (*kokutai*) and with national morality there is no occasion for taking a destructive attitude toward Shintō." (*Kokumin Dōtoku Gairon*, p. 322). The same author has made

encies in official Shintō as a religion, but feels that these defects can be made good by importations of ethical pabulum from Confucianism.[1] Then regarding the matter before us, he remarks, "The fundamental principle of Shintō ceremonials consists in the preservation of the Japanese Imperial Throne, eternal as Heaven and Earth. This is their most important character. The carrying out of the will of the Imperial Ancestors is the greatest principle of Shintō. But it goes without saying that in order to make the Imperial Throne eternal the Japanese state itself must be eternal. But in order to make the state eternal the Japanese people must develop continuously."[2]

The extreme point of view which would seek either to effect or to accompany this continuous development of the Japanese people by the expansion of Shintō as a world religion is not confined to Professor Kakehi. Professor *Tanaka* Yoshitō has said regarding the Great Way of Shintō, "To proclaim the Great Way of our empire throughout the world—this is our principal task, this is the sacred calling of the Japanese race."[3] A recent editorial in *Kami Kaze*, a Shintō magazine says, "Shintō is a great religion that includes all others. . . . . For example, Shintō may be compared with a tree while all other religions are fertilizers. Thus Shintō, by absorbing and assimilating various fertilizers, as the result of a process of inclusion and selection, must increase and expand itself. . . . . A religion like Christianity, however, which neglects both the family system and nationalism is not a fertilizer. On the other

public declaration in favor of encouraging visitation at the shrines on the part of school children as a mean of developing patriotism. [*Cf. Meiji Seitoku Kinen Gakkai Kiyō*, Vol. VII (April, 1917), pp 225-229; also J. E. 1916, pp 156, 377; *ibid.* 1918, p. 182.

1. "Confucianism," says Dr. Ariga, "is well adapted to the Japanese national constitution (*kokutai*). It is also suited to present day conditions of living and affords a satisfactory solution of the relations of individuals and the Absolute." (Ariga, *op. cit.*, p. 721).

2. *Op. cit.*

3. *Tanaka*, Yoshitō, *Shintō Hongi*, p. 161.

hand it is a great evil. If the usages of the existing family system should become extinct in Japan and we should come to pure individualism, or if, again, we should abandon nationalism and become altogether humanitarian, the results would be disastrous."[1] Another contemporary Shintō publication, *Miizu*, with each issue prints the motto: "*Dai Nihon Sekai Kyō*," Great Japan World-teaching."[2] *Ōmoto Kyō*, which has achieved no small popularity in Japanese military circles, teaches, "The people and Gods who are centralized in the doctrine of *Kōdō-Ōmoto* are only working to accomplish this greatest and loftiest task of unifying the world under the sway of the Emperor of Japan. . . . . We are only aiming at making the Emperor of Japan rule and govern the whole world, as he is the only ruler in the world who retains the spiritual mission inherited from the remotest ancestors in the Divine World."[3] Dr. *Uesugi* Shinkichi, writing after the close of the World War, with *post bellum* reconstruction issues in mind, says, "It is now most clear that the salvation of the entire human race is the mission of our empire. Nations are now in a condition of disorder. There are classes within the nations, each class struggling for its own interests and each thinking the other an irreconcilable enemy. Radicalism is spreading abroad. The poison of the disease penetrates flesh and bones and threatens to overthrow the state. The idea of reliance upon the state is conspicuously weakened. The heart of man has lost its power to cooperate. Individuals do as they please, acting dissolutely without restriction. The capitalistic classes of England and America, flushed with the victory of the Great War, have become arrogant and domineering throughout the world and are giving rein to unbounded greed. Behold the world is full of the struggle between capital and

1. *Kami Kaze* (神風), Tokyo, July, 1, 1921, p. 4.

2. Pub. No. 45, Sakuragi Chō, Uyeno, Shitaya, Tokyo.

3. *Taisho Nichi-Nichi Shimbun*, Osaka, Dec. 21, 1920. For a statement by a Japanese critic of certain chauvinistic aspects of *Ōmoto Kyō* and a related tendency toward popularity in military circles, see M. Honda, Ōmoto-kyō: What it is and Why it Spread," *Japan Advertiser*, Tokyo, Jan. 27, 1921, p. 4.

labor. They are fallen into the pit. The hell of fighting and bloodshed has appeared on earth.

"When we observe such conditions, there is not one of our people who does not believe that, if they only had our Emperor as theirs, they would not come to such extremity. . . . . Our people, through the benevolent virtue of the Emperors, have attained a national constitution that is without parallel in the world. . . . . Now, if all the human race should come to look up to the virtue of our Emperor and should come to live under that influence, then there would be light for the future of humanity. Thus the world can be saved from destruction. Thus life can be lived within the realms of goodness and beauty. Of a truth, great is the mission of our nation."[1]

In considering the religious definition of official Shintō we have had before us a form of statement which, simultaneously with an insistence on the importance of the shrine ceremonies, makes emphatic declaration of the religious nature of the national cult. The solutions of the related religious problems propose either reconciliation between Shintō and other religions or absorption of other religions by Shintō. The centrality of political considerations in the solutions, however, carries the problem outside of purely religious matters and presents factors which, in the extreme form advocated by such expositors as Kakehi and Uesugi, constitute a contradiction of the principles of internationalism.

The study as thus far conducted points to the necessity of investigating more precisely the nature of the supernaturalism that is involved in official Shintō. The questions to be taken up for examination in the ensuing pages include an attempt to test the claim that Shintō is not a religion as based on the assignment of a strictly nationalistic and historical, human character to the *kami*. Can the claims for the uniqueness of this euhemeristic conception of deity in Shintō be maintained? The matter may

1. *Uesugi*, Shinkichi, *Kokutai Seikwa no Hatsuyō*, pp. 205-6.

be tested (1) by an examination of the primary meaning of *kami* in Shintō and a comparison with the religious philosophy of other peoples, (2) by an investigation of the historicity of the great *kami* that head the genealogical lists of modern official Shintō, and (3) by an effort to determine whether the cult life of official Shintō is such as to identify it with real religion.

CHAPTER V.

The Meaning of Kami.

An argument based on the uniqueness of the idea of *kami* is advanced by certain modern Shintoists as a support for the proposition that the official cult does not partake of the supernaturalism of ordinary religion. Dr. Y. Haga represents a wide group when he says that the difficulties of the shrine issue have their origin in a misunderstanding of the word *kami* and a confusion with religion.[1] Official Shintō frequently falls back on the assertion that the *kami* are merely superior human beings who have contributed meritoriously to the progress of the Japanese state.[2] It is necessary to investigate these claims more exactly.

With regard to the word *kami*, it is probably safe to say that there is no other term in the original Japanese language with such a rich and multiform content. Nor is there another term with respect to which translators, both Japanese and foreign, have encountered greater obstacles. The variation in concepts covered by the form is so great—ranging as it does from hair on the human head to emperor and deity—that at first sight one naturally inclines toward the conclusion that we are dealing with totally disconnected ideas, perhaps originally expressed by different sounds, which have, in the process of time, become assimilated to one and the same phonetic form, or else that the explanation

1. See above, p. 85, also pp. 88, 93, 95.

2. Note, for example, the statement which one of the provincial governors is reported to have given out to a certain representative of Christianity, "Although the word *kami* continues to be used in the national cult, it has in no way the meaning of a *supernatural* being, which you give to it. It connotes only illustrious men, benefactors of their country. Consequently all Japanese, no matter what their religion, can pay them honour without doing violence to their conscience" *The National Cult in Japan* (A Roman Catholic Study of its Opposition to Evangelization), p. 7.

is to be found in primitive undifferentiation, in accordance with which the ancient Japanese, out of a poverty of linguistic elements and a lack of capacity for making logical distinctions, came to cover a variety of experiences with an identical verbal form.[1] Our conclusions in the matter, however, must rest on an investigation of the actual historical usage of the term *kami* itself.

The attempts of Japanese scholars to arrive at the underlying ideas connected with the term *kami*, have followed very largely along philological lines. The original content is made to depend on an etymological analysis into supposedly primary elements. This form of investigation, while manifestly precarious in method, has served to indicate the fact that, in spite of the assurance with which certain controversialists, official and otherwise, have insisted on a non-religious content for the term, nevertheless, the opinions of Japanese scholars, themselves, have been far from unanimous regarding the fundamental meaning.

In the ensuing discussion the attempt is made, in the first place, to pass in review some of the more noteworthy explanations that have been attached to *kami* by Japanese scholars and, in the second place, to examine the actual historical usage of the term and, finally, to suggest a hypothesis wherewith the existing diversity of content may be accounted for and harmonized.

We turn first, then, to matters of etymology. Neglecting a few palpably forced and impossible explanations such as those that derive *kami* from a mispronunciation of *yomi* or *yomo*, "lower world,"[2] from *kamu*, "to brew," from *kamu*, "to chew,"[3] from *kabi*, "mould"[4] (a marvelous thing leading to the idea of the supernatural involved in the conception of deity), etc., we find three main types of explanation: (1) Interpreta-

1. So Buckley, "Shintō Pantheon," *New World*, Dec. 1906, p. 1.

2. *Cf.* Proceedings of the 17th Session of the Comparative Religion Society of Tokyo (*Hikaku Shūkyō Gakkai*), Japan Weekly Mail, April 8, 1899, p, 350.

3. *Cf.* Miyao and Inamura, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

4. View of *Takahashi* Gorō, in *Shintō Shinron* ("New Discusssion of Shintō"), cited in Griffis, *The Religions of Japan*, p. 381, note 21.

tions that emphasize a primitive meaning of purity. (2) Those which make the fundamental idea one of superiority, either in position or degree. (3) Those which go back to forms involving ideas of mystery, strangeness, incomprehensibility, the supernatural, the superhuman, or the "superordinary." We may take up the study in the order just indicated.

1. Derivations from forms meaning "pure" or "bright."

(1) *Kami* is derived from *kanugami*[1] by the elision of the two middle syllables. This form, rendered into modern Japanese and interpreted in accordance with the sense of the ideographs employed in writing it, gives *terashite miru* or *shōran*, "shining-see." The reference is to the viewing of an object or objects on the part of deity. The term thus has something of the meaning of the phrase, "to behold from glory." This etymology is advanced by *Imibe* Masamichi. It is claimed by him, without foundation, to be the most ancient Japanese explanation of the term, *kami*, based upon oral traditions dating from the earliest period of Japanese history. The etymology is taken by Imibe to indicate an ancient attempt at expressing a conception of the purity of the divine nature. "The divine mind," he says, "like a clear mirror reflects all things of nature, operating with impartial justice and tolerating not a single spot of uncleanness. That which in heaven is *Kami*, in nature is Spirit and in man is Sincerity. If the spirit of nature and the heart of man are pure and clear (*seimei*), then they are *kami*."[2] As the sun in heaven lights up the world, so divine intelligence permeates all things in human society and in nature.

In criticism it may be briefly said that while this interpretation indicates the thoroughgoing nature of the Shintō emphasis on ceremonial cleanness, it has no support in scientific philology.

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1. 照覺.

2. *Imibe*, Masamichi, *Shindai Kuketsu* (忌部正通, 神代口訣, "Oral Traditions of the Age of the Gods"). Cited in M. Maruyama, *Dai Nihon wa Shinkoku Nari*, p. 31; also in Inamura, *op. cit.*, pp. 159 160. Imibe flourished in the Muromachi period. The facts of his life have not been transmitted.

It is an attempt to read back a developed moral philosophy, containing Buddhistic impressions into the ancient situation.

(2) *Kami* is derived from *kagami*,[1] "mirror," by the elision of the middle *ga*. The connection with deity is, in this case, supposed to arise from a metaphorical usage, and, as in the preceding explanation, is taken as a primitive attempt to express a conception of the purity of the divine nature. God is *kagami*, a clear mirror, spotless and without a cloud defiling his purity.

Yamazaki Ansai (1619-1682) who sponsors this form of etymology, says with reference to the origin of the term, "The heart of *Kami* is pure like a clear mirror without a single trace of dimness, therefore, as a figurative expression of this idea, the use of the word *kagami* arose. Later the middle *ga* was dropped, giving the form *kami*."[2]

It is probable that the etymology here given was suggested by the prominence of the mirror as a sacred object in the Shintō cult. The explanation of the connection of the mirror with the shrines, which is frequently given by the Japanese *literati* is that it is emblematic of purity.[3] On the other hand, it seems tolerably certain that the mirror became attached to religious ceremonial in old Japan, not because it symbolized purity or cleanness, not even ceremonial cleanness, but because it was employed as part of the magical paraphernalia of the archaic cult.[4]

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1. 鏡.

2. *Cf.* Maruyama, *op. cit.*; also, Miyao and Inamura, *op. cit.*, p. 160. Keichū (d. 1701), *Watarae* Nobuyoshi (d. 1714), *Yoshikawa* Koretaru (d. 1694) and other scholars of the *Suika* school of Shintō [a combination of Shintō and Confucianism, organized by *Yamazaki* Ansai] support this same view.

3. *Cf.* Japan Weekly Mail, *op. cit.*

4. When the mirror first appears in Japanese literature it is evidently as part of a magical technique for removing an obscuration of the sun. *Cf.* C., pp. 54-59. Maruyama is of the opinion that ancient Japanese ceremonial treatment of the mirror had its origin in a belief that the sun goddess lived therein as a shadow spirit. *Cf.* Maruyama, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

(3) Another view similar to that just stated, while deriving *kami* from the same form, *kagami*, attempts to carry the etymology back to a usage that obtained prior to the knowledge of the mirror in Japanese society and takes the original meaning of *kagami* to be the same as *kagayaite-mieru*, "to appear bright" or "to appear brilliant." Thus *Tanigawa* Kotosuga (d. 1776), who advocates this interpretation says, "Before the mirror was known the sun and moon were called *Ame-no-kagami-no-mikoto* ('Bright-Appearing-August-Thing-of-Heaven')." This notion of brightness, together with the derived idea of purity, was then carried over into religion, and *kagami* in the abbreviated form of *kami* was made to serve as the expression of this ancient idea of the inner nature of deity.[1]

The etymology here again is fanciful. It has no support in Japanese philology. It reflects the influence of highly developed and comparatively modern ideas of purity.

(4) An additional derivation while going back to the same form *kagami* assigns a primary meaning "to look at," "to judge," "to decide."[2] We have, for example, in the modern Japanese language the word *kangamiru* used in the senses: to observe carefully, to profit by experience, to take warning, to judge, to determine, to consider. As a matter of fact, however, this *kangamiru*, from which *kangami* or *kagami* in the sense of "to judge" or "to decide" is supposed to be derived, has no verifiable connection with *kagami*, "mirror" but, on the other hand, evidently comes from *kangaeru* ("to think," "to consider") and *miru* ("to see," "to observe"). Note the modern vernacular *kangaete mimashō*, "I will consider the matter."

(5) Closely related to this *kagami* etymology is an attempt,

1. *Tanigawa*, Kotosuga, *Wakun no Shiori* (谷川士清, 和訓栞, "Guide to Japanese Interpretations of Chinese"), Vol. I, p. 538. Ed. by *Inoue* Yorikuni (井上頼圀) and *Kosugi* Onzon (小杉榲邨), Tokyo, 1898.

2. *Cf.* Harada, Art. "God (Japanese idea of)", H. E. R.E., Vol. 6, p. 294.

which also appears to have originated with Tanigawa, to find the archaic form of *kami* in *akami*,[1] which is taken to be equivalent to the form *akiraka ni miru*, "to see clearly" [*akiraka ni*, "clearly," "brightly," "intelligibly" "plainly," "manifestly," and *miru*, "to see." *Cf. akami*, "a reddish tinge," *aka*, "red," and *mi*, "viewing," "seeing," "beholding"].[2] The usage is supposed to reflect a primitive insight into the nature of the divine intelligence. On the face of it, however, the etymology is perhaps even more forced than those that precede. It takes it for granted that the philosophical interpretation existed in the primitive religion.

2. Derivations based on a reference to usage in which the idea of "superiority" is primary.

(1) The thesis here becomes, *Kami wa kami nari*,[3] "*Kami* means above." The interpretation makes use of the fact that in the modern Japanese language *kami* may denote either the idea of deity or that of ordinary superiority in spatial position or in social rank. Since the time of the great revival of pure Shintō, beginning with Arai, this has been the most orthodox statement of the origin of the term under consideration, i.e., the diversified meanings of *kami* can all be carried back to this same form with the primary significance of superiority. This has the support of such scholars as *Arai* Hakuseki, *Kamo* Mabuchi, *Ise* Teijō, *Katō* Genchi, Harada, and numerous others.

Arai, who enjoys the reputation of having been the first noteworthy euhemerist of Japanese history, says in the *Toga*, "In ancient times what was called *kami* was man. In the *Nihongi*, divine ancestors and sacred personages (*shinsei shinjin*) are described as *kami*. In the colloquial speech of our country this word is used to designate things that are venerated (*sonshō*).[4] For example, rulers and high government officials are all called

1. Written 明見.
2. *Cf.* Maruyama, *op. cit.*, p. 32.
3. 神は上なり.
4. 尊尚.

kami. Or to take a more commonplace example, the hair of the head is also *kami*. We also designate things that are high up [in space] by the use of this same word *kami*. So also, do we indicate our attitude of reverence toward those among men who are holy by the expression *kami*. In this connection we also use the forms *Ōkami* and *Ōmikami*."[1]

Although later students of the subject have been divided in the extent to which they have participated in Arai's euhemeristic tendencies, yet the far-reaching influence that his views have exerted upon native and foreign scholars alike is seen in the dominant position which his idea of *kami*, as meaning fundamentally, "superior," maintains in modern Japanese philology. Harada, for example, says, "The generally accepted derivation, however, is that to be traced in modified meanings of the same word *kami*, signifying that which is 'above' or 'superior,' in contrast to *shimo*, signifying that which is 'below' or 'inferior.' The upper part of the body is *kami*, while the lower part is *shimo*. A man of superior rank is *kami*, while an inferior is *shimo*. Heaven is *kami*, earth is *shimo*. So general is the term that it lends itself readily as an appellation of that which is looked upon with fear or respect, as above man in power or superior in any attribute."[2] Dr. G. Katō has given his support to a similar view.[3] *Ise* Teijō has written in his Miscellany, "The meaning of *kami* is 'above.' Because a thing is venerable it is regarded as above and called *kami*."[4] *Kamo*Mabuchi says, "*Kami* means 'above.' In a later age people came to distinguish between *kami* and 'above,' and, because they paid attention to the ideograms only, they forgot the original meaning and came to think that, since the ideograms differed, the meanings differed also."[5]

1. *Arai* Hakuseki, *Zenshū* (新井白石全集, "Complete Works of *Arai* Hakuseki"), Vol. IV, p. 75. Ed. by *Ichijima* Kenkichi (市島謙吉), Tokyo, 1906.

2. Harada, *op. cit.* See also *The Faith of Japan*, pp. 26-7.

3. See above, p. 114.

4. *Ise*, Teijō, *Teijō Zakki* (貞丈雜記, "Miscellany of Teijō"). *Cf.* Miyao and Inamura, p. 162.

5. For reference see Miyao and Inamura, *op. cit.*, p. 162. For the inter-

With regard to the evidence for this interpretation it must be admitted that it appears to have considerable support in both ancient and contemporary usage. That the word *kami*, in certain connections, carries the idea of superiority or height in social and political spheres or in spatial position is too apparent to admit of contradiction. It is to be noted, however, that the formulation of this interpretation into the statement, *Kami wa kami de aru* ("*Kami* means above"), whether understood in the religious sense as expressive of the idea that supreme height of character as well as a dwelling place in a world above belongs to deity and that in consequence the god is preeminently worthy of worship, or, as expressive of a socio-political point of view, which, while repudiating the former religious interpretation, accepts *kami* ("deity") in the sense of important human beings who by virtue of their being *kami* ("above") ought to be respected, honored and obeyed by the ordinary *shimo jimo*, is in either case, in such terms as to make it possible to tie up the alleged ancient usage very closely with modern theology on the one hand and modern political philosophy on the other. Thus, etymology is made to give the sanction of antiquity to modern institutions. This sanction is even more directly secured on the political side by a slightly variant explanation which finds the primitive form of *kami* in the archaic expression, *kimi*, signifying "lord," "ruler," or "sovereign."[1]

The important question that here opens up is not whether, upon examination of the actual usages of the term, cases can be

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pretations advanced by modern European and American scholars the reader should consult in this connection, Satow, "The Revival of Pure Shintau," T. A. S. J., Vol. III, Appendix, p. 43, note 27; Chamberlain, B. H., *Kojiki*, Introduction, pp. XXIII-XXIV; Aston, W. G., *Shintō, the Way of the Gods*, pp. 7-8; Florenz, Karl, "Der Shintoismus," *Die Orientalischen Religionen, Die Kultur der Gegenwart*, Teil I, Abteilung III, I, p. 195; Revon, M., "Le Shintoisme," *Revue de L'Histoire des Religions*, Vol. XLIX, p. 28; Griffis, W. E., The Religions of Japan, p. 30; Knox, Geo. W., *The Development of Religion in Japan*, p. 30; Buckley, Edmund, "The Shinto Pantheon," *New World*, Dec. 1896, p. 1.

1. *Cf.* Japan Weekly Mail, Apr. 8, 1899, p. 350.

found in which *kami* must be interpreted in the sense of "superior" or "above." This much is granted. We need to consider, however, the further question as to whether or not this view does full justice to the original and characteristic religious conceptions and practices of the Japanese people. The possibility exists that *kami* interpreted as meaning "above" indicates merely a derived and not an original usage, and that it is to be fully understood only in relationship with a more comprehensive point of view. Material bearing on the solution of this problem will be developed later in the discussion.

(2) In a closely related form of etymology this idea of superiority is elaborated into the conception of an invisible, perfect or transcendent god. The explanation here attempts to find the primary element of the original usage in *kakureru*, "to be hidden," The three following derivations are to be noted.

a. The original of *kami* is found in *kakurimi*,[1] "hidden person," 'hidden body" (*kakureru*, "to be hidden," and *mi*, "body," "self," "person"). *Saitō* Hikomaru (d. 1854), who espouses this view, says, "Because *Kami* is unseen by the eyes of man, He is *kakuri-mi*. This is abbreviated to *kami*." In further explanation Saitō says, "In the beginning of heaven and earth the Gods of Heaven came into existence of themselves and hid their persons. They were without parents and appeared spontaneously. They were unseen even by the other gods. When the world of man came into being, although the gods appeared therein, they were unseen by human eyes and thus were called *kami* (*kakuri-mi*, 'hidden persons')."[2]

b. A variation of the above derivation, while going back to the same form, *kakuri-mi*, takes *mi* in the sense of "spirit,"[3] hence "hidden spirit" rather than "hidden body."[4]

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1. 隠身.
2. For reference see Miyao and Inamura, *op. cit.*
3. 霊, read variously, *tama, tamashii, kushi, kami, kushibi.*
4. Advanced by *Hatta* Tomomori (d. 1873). *Cf.* Miyao and Inamura, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

c. Similarly we have a derivation from *kakuri* or *kakure*, "hidden," "invisible," or "intangible" and *mi-tsuru*, "to be full of." In their combination the terms are supposed to express the ideas of completeness and transcendence. The explanation is that in the ancient religious situation that gave rise to the word *kami* there existed a conception of an Absolute who was regarded as existing in the supernatural world in his true and complete form but who, as one who was "full of intangibleness," could not be seen from the phenomenal world.[1]

3. In the third general group of derivations we have as already stated, a reference of the origin of *kami* to forms that have a primary meaning of "strange," "mysterious," "fearful," "hidden," "supernatural," "that which is beyond the power of the mind to grasp," etc. It may be taken as significant that the list of Japanese scholars who may be classified here includes some of the greatest names in the history of the interpretation of Shintō. We may note the following derivations and interpretations.

(1) *Kami* is derived from *kashikomi*,[2] "fear," "awe," "reverence."

In the opinion of *Arakida* Hisaoi (d. 1804), who advocates this etymology, *kami* was employed by the ancient Japanese as a means of expressing emotional reactions in the presence of whatever was regarded as possessing conspicuous virtue or whatever was felt to be fearful and awesome. Arakida says, "There are various explanations of the word *kami*, but none of them correct. *Kami* has the primary meaning of awe-inspiring or dreadful. *Susa-no-wo-no-mikoto* said to the great serpent, 'You are a fearful *kami* (*Nanji osoru beki kami nari*).' In the *Kimmei* chronicle both the tiger and the wolf are called awesome *kami* (*kashikoki kami*). The sixteenth book of the *Manyōshū* speaks of 'the tiger of China who is called *kami*. There is also a pillow word which mentions the wolf in the phrase, 'the field

1. *Cf.* Miyao and Inamura, *op. cit.*, pp. 167-8.

2. 畏.

of the true *kami* of the great mouth.' It is by conclusions drawn from such usage that the meaning of *kami* is to be determined."[1]

(2) The interpretation advanced by Hirata is even more suggestive than the above. Hirata says, "Regarding the meaning of *kami*: At the beginning of the Chronicles of the Age of the Gods (*Nihongi*) it stands written, 'In ancient times Heaven and Earth were not yet separated and the *In* and the *Yo*[2] were as yet undivided. All was turbid and of chaotic mass like an egg, and *kabi* was contained therein.' *Kami* is the same as this *kabi*. The *ka* of *kabi* has the significance of 'that'[3] and is a demonstrative serving to point out an object. *Bi* is a word that indicates something which is mysterious (*reinyō*).[4] The forms *kabi*, *kami*, *kabu* and *kamu* are all the same. . . . The *kabi* which was included in original matter was the cause of matter taking on form. . . . *Kabi* was the source of all things that appeared in the world and, in as much as it was very mysterious, afterwards everything that had mystery in it came to be designated by this word. Now *kabi* and *kami* are the same. In as much as the idea is that of a thing that is mysterious and strange, not only the *kabi* which performed the work of creation, but also everything in the world possessing marvelous and strange virtue was called *kabi*. Later this was written *kami*. Then it followed that among ordinary human beings any superior person was called *kami*. Also, in the natural world anything that was preeminent was generally called *kami*."[5]

(3) Motoori's interpretation similarly emphasizes aspects of

1. *Cf.* Miyao and Inamura, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

2. The male and female, or active and passive, principles of Chinese philosophy.

3 彼, *kano*.

4. 靈妙, wonderful, miraculous, mysterious, supernatural.

5. *Hirata* Atsutane, *Koshiden* (平田篤胤. 古史傳), Bk. I. *Hirata Atsutane Zenshū* (平田篤胤全集, "The Complete Works of Hirata Atsutane," ed. by *Muromatsu* Iwao, Tokyo, 1915), Vol. VII, pp. 6-9.

Hirata further says, "In a far later time [i.e. subsequent to the golden age of

primitive supernaturalism. His statement may be taken as the most thorough that has yet been advanced by any Japanese scholar. He says, "I do not yet understand the meaning of the term *kami*. Speaking in general, however, it may be said that *kami* signifies in the first place, the deities of heaven and of earth that appear in the ancient records and also the spirits (*mitama*) of the shrines where they are worshipped. It is hardly necessary to say that it includes human beings; also such objects as birds, beasts, trees, plants, seas, mountains, and

pure Yamato civilization] Chinese ideograms were imported and the word *kami* was fitted on to the Chinese character (*shin* 神). Although we may think that these correspond exactly, as a matter of fact, only about seventy or eighty per cent is a fit while twenty or thirty per cent is not." [*Hirata*, Atsutane, *Koatō Taii* ("Principles of Old Shintō"), in *Hirata Atsutane Kōen Shū* ("Collected Lectures of *Hirata* Atsutane"), ed. by *Muromatsu* Iwao (Tokyo, 1913), p. 33]. The same opinion has been advanced by other Japanese scholars. Hirata's position, however, is as much influenced by his prejudice against Chinese civilization as it is by his scholarship. As Hirata points out, it is hardly to be expected that the Chinese and Japanese forms should coincide exactly in meaning. Yet, that the original content of 神 is closely similar to the fundamental idea of *kami* may be seen by an analysis of 神 into its primitive elements.

The two important elements to observe in the analysis of 神 are the *radical* 示 and the *phonetic* or *primitive* 申. The latter symbol is undoubtedly the older form since it appears independently in ancient Chinese writings with the meaning "deity." Chalfant, who has made careful study of the primitive forms of modern Chinese ideographs, finds the original of 申 in an ancient sign for lightning, probably or , a pictorial representation of a lightning flash. In the course of its evolution the symbol manifests the following different forms, , , , , , , , , and finally 申. [Chalfant, Frank, H. *Early Chinese Writing*, in "Memoirs of the Carnegie Museum," Vol. IV., No. 1. (Sept., 1906), Plate XXVI, No. 352].

The other element 示 appears in modern dictionaries as the one hundred thirteenth radical, serving as a classifier for symbols relating to religious matters. The most common modern Japanese readings of 示 are *shimeshi* (n.) meaning "that which is indicated" or "that which is pointed out," and *shimesu* (v.), "to indicate," "to point out," or "to reveal." The original idea is evidently revelation by divination. Shuo Wen in the "Etymological Dictionary of the Han Dynasty," published about 120 A.D., explains the sign as indicating "that which comes from Heaven as revealing fortune or misfortune to men. From 二 and , sun, moon, and stars descending. Pertains to astrological scrutiny into divine affairs."

so forth. In ancient usage, anything whatsoever which was outside of the ordinary,[1] which possessed superior virtue, or which was awe-inspiring was called *kami*. Eminence here does not refer merely to the superiority of nobility, goodness or meritorious deeds, but evil or mysterious things, if they are extraordinary and dreadful, are called *kami*. It is needless to say that among human beings who are *kami* the successive generations of august emperors are all included. The fact that emperors are also called 'distant *kami*' (*tōtsu kami*), is because, from the standpoint of common people, they are far separated, worthy of reverence and majestic. In a lesser degree, we find human beings, in the present as well as in ancient times, who are *kami*. Although these may not be accepted throughout the whole country, yet in each province, each village and each family there are human beings who are *kami*, each one in accordance with his proper position. The *kami* of the Divine Age were for the most part human beings of that time and, because the people of that age were all *kami*, it is called the 'Age of the Gods' (*Kamiyo*). Furthermore, among things which are not human, the thunder is always called *naru kami* or *kami nari* ('sounding *kami*'). Such things as dragons, the echo (*kodama*),[2] and foxes, in as much as they are conspicuous, wonderful and awe-inspiring, are also *kami*. In popular usage the echo is said to be the *tengu*,[3] which in Chinese writings is referred

(Quoted in Chalfant, *op. cit.*, Plate XXVI, note). Chalfant says, "The horizontal lines may be the sign for 'above,' or a special sign for Heaven. The vertical lines depict the descending influences." (*Op. cit.*).

Thus, the Chinese ideogram for "deity" can be carried back to two elements, one growing out of early human experiences with the lightning flash, the other out of ideas of an "overhead" force that was manipulated through magic and divination.

1. 何にまれ尋常ならず.

2. Written by Motoori, 樹靈, "tree spirit"; from *ko* (*ki*), "tree," and *dama* (*tama*), "spirit." In the modern Japanese language *kodama* ("tree spirit") is still used as colloquial for echo.

3. 天狗, a long-nosed, red-faced, winged goblin, supposed to inhabit mountains and forests. He is thus associated with those wild spots wherein vague sounds and echoes would stimulate feelings of awe and mystery.

to as a mountain goblin.[1] The *tengu* mentioned by the *Nihongi* in the book treating of Emperor Jōmei is quite different.[2] The *Genji Monogatari* speaks of *tengu* and also of *kodama* and it might seem as though *tengu* were different from *kodama*. In as much as the people of that time used *tengu* and *kodama* interchangeably, however, the usage of the *Genji Monogatari* is not to be taken as especially significant. As a matter of fact they are one and the same thing. That which is called *kodama* (echo) in the present, in ancient times was called mountain-man (*yama-biko*).[3] These matters are of no importance here but are advanced merely as an explanation of the echo. In the *Nihongi* and the *Manyōshū* the tiger and the wolf are also spoken of as *kami*. Again there are the cases in which peaches were given the name *Okamu-dzu mi-no-mikoto* ("August-Thing-Great-*Kamu*-Fruit") and a necklace of jewels was called *Mi-kura-tana-no-kami* ("August-Storehouse-Shelf-*Kami*"). There are also examples in which rocks, stumps of trees and leaves of plants spoke audibly. These were all *kami*. There are also numerous examples in which seas and mountains are called *kami*. This does not have reference to the spirit of the mountain or the sea, but *kami* is here used directly of the particular mountain or sea. This is because they are exceedingly awe-inspiring (*kashikoki mono naru yue nari*).

"Thus there are various kinds of *kami*. Some are worthy of honor, some are vile, some are strong, some are weak, some

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1. 魑魅, *chi-mi*, a monster living in wooded mountains. In Chinese folk-lore 魑 indicates a mountain hobgoblin represented as having the face of a man and the body of a beast. 魅 signifies a forest ogre, likewise having the face of a man and the four legs of an animal.

2. The *tengu* in this case was evidently a shooting star which the wisdom of the time explained as the appearance of the Fox of Heaven. *Cf.* A., II, p. 168 (637 A.D., 2nd month, 23rd day); N. p. 483.

3. 山彦, from *yama*, "mountain" and *hiko*, "an extraordinary man," "a man," "a male."

are good, some are evil; and their hearts and acts vary accordingly."[1]

(4). Maruyama favours a derivation from *kagemi*,[2] "shadow body" (*kage*, shadow" and *mi*, "body" or "person"). We may gather from his discussion the following points.[3]

a. Use is made of the ancient Shintō idea that the mirror (*kagami*) was the dwelling-place of a spirit, i.e., the mirror was a *kage-mi*, *ka* and *ke* (*ge*) often being used interchangeably in the old Japanese language. The elision of the middle syllable gives *kami*. In accordance with this theory, the most ancient Japanese word for spirit was *kagemi* "shadow-body." In this usage Maruyama thinks that we can discern the attempt of primitive man to indicate his experiences with the vague shadows which haunted the world about him, which appeared to him in dreams, and which were mysteriously reflected in mirrors.

b. Maruyama then says, "Thus the original usage of *kami* was in connection with whatever ordinary people could not easily comprehend, whether in concrete object, in dignity, in virtue, in ability, in learning, or in shrewdness."[4] *Kami*-objects were thus felt as "above" in the sense that they transcended that which was well known or well within control.

c. Accordingly, by a process of natural development out of this original feeling of mysterious "overheadness" the word came to indicate distinction of grade or position in things and in human society, as may be seen in the usages of *kami* with

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1. *Motoori*, Norinaga, *Kojiki Den*, Vol. III, *Motoori Norinaga Zenshū* (本居宣長全集 "Complete Works of *Motoori* Norinaga"), Vol. I, pp. 150-152. Ed. by *Motoori* Hoei (本居豐穎), Tokyo, 1901. Hirata has reproduced this passage on *kami*, with certain modifications, in his *Kodō Taii* ("Principles of Old Shintō"). *Cf. Hirata Atsutane Kiten Shū* (Ed. by I. Muromatsu, Tokyo, 1913), Vol. I, pp. 31 ff. Satow has given an English version of Hirata's rendering in T. A. S. J. Vol. III, pp. 42-43.

2. 影身.

3. Maruyama, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-38.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 31.

the meanings of "governor" or "feudal lord," "hair on the human scalp," and "above" or "superior."

(5) *Miura* Sempo, one of the most astute of recent Shintō scholars, similarly advances the view that the term *kami*, in its earliest and most characteristic usage, is associated with ideas and feelings that arise in the presence of anything *reigen teki* ("mysterious," "ghostly") or *fukashigi teki* ("marvelous," "strange").[1] He rejects the hypothesis that *kami* in its original sense expresses simply the idea of a supreme or transcendent being, although he is willing to accept this as a derived meaning. He distinguishes two main steps in the process whereby the word has come to take on its characteristic content.

a. "The first matter of importance to note concerning *kami* is its content of mystery and wonder. *Kami* means not simply that which is superior as compared with human beings and with things, but it denotes that which in intelligence, virtue, or power is marvelous and mysterious. The fact that in ancient times mountains, rivers, and seas were commonly worshipped as *kami* is not simply because they were looked upon as superior in height, size, depth, or breadth, but because these things were beyond the power of the mind to grasp and thus mysterious. We can explain in the same manner the fact that serpents, tigers, and wolves were also *kami*."[2]

b. Then with true pyschological insight Miura adds, "In as much, however, as the mysterious and the marvelous are set over against that which is not mysterious and not marvelous, it goes without saying that an idea of superiority is involved. Thus, *kami* means, in the first place, that which is marvelous and mysterious and, in the second place, it seems to me to express the idea of *superior* being."[3]

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1. *Miura* Sempo and *Tanaka* Jigohei, *Shindai no Shisō* (三浦千臥批評, 田中治吾平著, 神代之思想, "The Ideas of the Age of the Gods," Tokyo, 1912), p. 127.

2. *Op. cit.*

3. *Ibid.*, p. 128.

Miura further advances the hypothesis that Japanese words beginning with syllables of the *ka*-series [i.e., beginning with the elements *ka*, *ki*, *ku*, *ke* or *ko*] exhibit a tendency toward bearing a content that is colored by the ideas of strangeness and mystery.[1] He makes no attempt to elaborate the theory, however, beyond suggesting a few words that illustrate the point in question.[2] Thus, although his theory is undeveloped, his study as far as it goes, favors an etymology that refers the first syllable of *kami* to an original usage in which *ka* expresses primitive reactions in the presence of various baffling, uncontrolled, terrifying, or mysterious experiences that throw the human mind into attitudes of unusual awareness and caution.

With regard to the *mi*-syllable Miura advances the tentative hypothesis that this element is to be taken in the same sense as *mi* ("body," "person") or *mi* ("fruit," "substance," or "matter"). *Mi* thus must be understood in the sense of substantiality or form. As terms analogous to *kami* in construction, he suggests *omi* (lit. "big body," "big person"; in the archaic regime the term was probably applied to subordinate chiefs who were personally attached to the great chief or *sumera-mikoto*), *tami* (lit. "rice-field person," used even in the modern vernacular to indicate the common people), *he-mi* or *he-bi* ("serpent"), *nezu-mi* ("rat"), *shira-mi* ("louse"), *no-mi* ("flea"), etc.[3] Under this analysis, *kami* would mean, "possessed of mysterious or marvelous substance." The underlying idea which Miura arrives at is thus identical with that reached by Hirata.

1. *Ibid.*, p. 127.

2. Such terms as *kakusu*, "to conceal," *kakureru*, "to hide," "to disappear from sight," *kage*, "a shadow," "a phantom," *kagayaku*, "to shine," *ki*, "spirit," *kuma*, "a dark spot," *kushibi*, "strange," "supernatural." *Hatta* Tomonori has advanced a similar view and suggests a comparison of *kami* with such forms as *kasuka*, "dim," "vague," *kakure*, "isolation," "hidden," *kaze*, "wind," *kasumi*, "haze," "mist." On this basis he proposes that *kami* is possibly a combination of *ka* with the primary meaning of "vagueness" or "indistinctness" and *mi*, from *mi-tsuru*, "to be full of," hence "full of vagueness." *Cf.* Maruyama, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

3. Miura, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

(6) *Tanaka* Yoshitō, although attempting something of a compromise view, finds the idea of mystery entering into *kami* as one of its important elements. At the same time he characteristically seeks to preserve unique aspects in favor of the superiority of the Japanese conception. "If we summarize briefly the content of *kami*," he says, "we may say that it includes the ideas of aboveness and of mystery also those of superiority and glorious presence (*shōrin* or *kagamiru*).[1] My opinion is that any object that possesses these peculiarities and attributes is *kami*. Today among actual living people there are those who are *kami* and who may be called *arahito gami* (incarnate *kami*). Among our ancestors of the past those who possessed one, two, or all of these attributes just named are *kami*. Accordingly, this is not the abstract deity found in occidental monotheism. That is, it is not arbitrarily produced by poets, philosophers and religionists. The Japanese *kami* is equipped with human personality. The foreign idea of deity differs greatly."[2]

(7) Professor *Miyaji* Naoichi[3] declares that the fundamental meaning of *kami* is "possessing superhuman power." He says, "Regarding the meaning of *kami*: Our Japanese race which has possessed an extremely stable faith from the time of the beginning of the establishment of the state, has designated the objects of daily worship by the general term *kami*. Even if we express the idea with the ideograms *shin* (deity) or *shingi* (deities of heaven and earth) yet the various meanings of *kami* are not by any means unified thereby. Furthermore, the idea of *kami* has undergone great changes in passing through the ages. I intend to speak of what is lodged in the characteristic thought of our people.

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1. 照臨. Tanaka's meaning is not altogether clear here. The ideograms can be read *terashite nozomu*, "shining, to look upon." *Cf.* the view of Imibe given above.

2. Tanaka, Y., *Shintō Hongi*, p. 131.

3. Lecturer on Shintō history in the Imperial University of Tokyo.

"It is not easy to determine the etymology of *kami*. If, however, we consider the actual usage of the term, it may be said that the most fitting interpretation assigns a general meaning of 'possessing superhuman power.' This was noted long ago by earlier writers. Consequently, the scope of the term is exceedingly broad and extends into various diversifications. Thus *kami* may be superior or the opposite; they may be righteous or evil. Such ideas are not by any means limited to past ages."[1]

The foregoing inventory of Japanese opinions contains some etymologies and interpretations that are fanciful and impossible; others are remarkably suggestive and expressive of genuine psychological insight. Whether fanciful or sound they may at least serve to indicate that the offhand dogmatism which denies the existence of superhuman or supernatural elements in the meaning of *kami* is not supported by the authority of Japanese scholars who have made the actual religious life of the people an object of careful investigation. As the next step in our study it is necessary to attempt to gather together the different meanings of *kami*, giving as far as possible examples of the actual, historical usage.

The various meanings of *kami* may be listed as follows:

1. That which is strange, fearful, mysterious, marvelous, uncontrolled, or beyond human comprehension (*hakaru bekarazaru koto*); extraordinary experiences that produce unusual emotions such as the frenzy of religious dances, or outstanding objects that throw the attention into special activity, such as tall trees, high mountains, thunder and lightning; implements of magic such as sacred mirrors and jewels; uncanny animals such as foxes, tigers and wolves.

In the *Nihon Shoki* two mountain wolves are called *kashikoki kami*, "fearful deities."[2] The *Manyōshū* speaks of *Ōkuchi*

1. *Magaji*, Naoichi, *Shingi Shi Kōyō* (宮地直一, 神祇史綱要 "Outline History of the Deities of Heaven and Earth," Tokyo, 1919), pp. 4-5.

2. N., p. 367; A., II, p. 36.

no magami, "Great-Mouthed-True-*Kami*,"[1] which, as Arakida suggests, may be identified as a reference to the wolf, fearful because of his big mouth. The *Fudōki* says, "In Asuka there is an *ōkami* (wolf) who has eaten many people; the people of the country in fear call it Great-Mouthed-*Kami*."[2] The modern Japanese colloquial for wolf is still *ōkami*. The *Nihon Shoki* similarly speaks of the tiger as *kashikoki kami*, "fearful deity."[3] The *Manyōshū* mentions the *tora to iu kami*, "the *kami* called tiger."[4] The extraordinary appearance of white animals led to their being accorded special ceremonial treatment. The appearance of a white deer was a supernatural portent.[5] White sparrows, white pheasants, white crows, white swallows, white falcons, white owls, white moths, and white foxes were all good omens.[6] The fox images found at the Inari shrines of modern Japan are generally white. White snakes are still the objects of superstitious regard.

The "Eight Great *Kami* of Idzushi" spoken of in the *Kojiki* are two strings of beads, "a wave-shaking scarf," "a wind-cutting scarf" [i.e. "a scarf to raise the waves and a scarf to still the waves, a scarf to raise the wind and a scarf to still the wind"],[7] "a mirror of the offing" and "a mirror of the shore."[8] The necklace of jewels which Izanagi bestowed on the Sun Goddess was called *Mikura-tana-no-kami*, "August-Store-house-Shelf-*Kami*."[9] The sword which subdued the

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1. *Manyōshū*, p. 742, No. 1636. Ed. by *Watanabe* Daisaburō and *Watanabe* Fumio, Tokyo, 1877.
2. Cited in G. Katō, *Waga Kokutai to Shintō*, p. 139.
3. N., p. 387.
4. *Manyōshū, op. cit.*, p. 786, No. 3885.
5. A., I, p. 297.
6. A., pp. 124, 174, 236-7, 239, 252, 286, 322, 326, 352, 410. See also De Visser, M. W., *The Fox and the Badger in Japanese Folklore*, T. A. S. J., Vol XXXVI, Pt. III, pp. 13, 29, 30.
7. *Cf.* C., p. 261, note 17.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 261.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 43.

savage deities of Kumanu was called *Sazhi-futsu-no-kami*, "Thrust-Broad-*Kami*."[1]

Izanagi's marvelous sword was called *Itsu-no-wo-ha-hari-no-kami*, "Majestic-Point-Blade-Extended-*Kami*."[2] The peaches with which he held back the eight thunder-*kami* and the five hundred warriors of Hell were called *O-kamu-dzu-mi-no-mikoto*, "Wonderful-Thing-Great-Divine Fruit."[3] The rock with which he blocked up the Pass of Hell was called *Michi-gaeshi-no-ō kami*, "Great-*Kami*-of-the Road-Turning-Back."[4] The staff with which the same hero drove back the thunders was *Funado-no-kami*.[5]

Kami nari, "sounding *kami*," may mean either thunder or lightning (thunderbolt). The thunder god is *Ika-dzuchi-no-kami*, "Terrible-Hammer-*Kami*,"[6] or *Take-mika-dzuchi-no-kami* "Brave-Awful-Hammer-*Kami*."[7] The *Manyōshū* indicates the popular beliefs that lie back of the usage when it says that it is fearful to see the *kami* who flashes near the clouds and roars.[8]

Kamu, which appears to be an older form of *kami*, has a similar usage. The frenzy exhibited by *Uzume-no-mikoto* in her dance before the Sun Goddess is called *kamu-gakari*, "*kamu*-possession."[9] In the *Manyōshū* the words of the Shintō priest, which caused the safe passage of the boats in the bay of Sumi, are called *kamu goto*, "*kamu* words."[10] The wind that

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 135.
2. *Ibid.*, pp 34, 100.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 37; also A., I, p. 30.
4. C., p. 38.
5. A., I, p. 30.
6. A., I, p. 29. See also T. A. S. J., Vol. VII, Pt. IV, pp. 414-15.
7. A., I, p. 115.
8. For reference see Katō, *op. cit.*, p. 131.
9. *Cf. Shibugawa*, Genji, *Santai Kojiki* (澁川玄耳, 三體古事記, "Tripartite Kojiki," Tokyo, 1916), p. 44.
10. *Sumi no e ni*
Itsuku hafuri ga
Kamu goto to;
Yuku to mo ku to mo
Fune wa haya ke mu.—*Manyōshū*, *op. cit.*, No. 4243.

blows from the sacred shrine of Watarahi is *kamu kaze*, "*kamu* wind."[1] The conclave of the deities of heaven is *kamu hakari*, "*kamu* consultation."[2] A *kamu-toko* is a sacred place for worshipping the *kami*. *Kamu-gaki* signifies the sacred fence or inclosure about a shrine. *Kamu-kai* is sacred rice presented to the *kami*. In the ancient records certain sacred persons are called *kamu*, as *Kamu-Yamato-ihare-biko*, "Sacred-Yamato-I-hare-Prince," the first Emperor according to tradition. *Kamu*, both in form and meaning, strongly suggests the Polynesian term *tabu*. The sacred chiefs of Polynesia who can trace their pedigrees back to the gods are *arii tabu*, "chiefs sacred." A temple is *wahi tabu*, "place sacred." *Kamu* here has a ceremonial and not an ethical significance; that is, the *kamu* object is sacred because it is taboo.

2. Spirits and deities of nature. In this sense *kami* is used of the spirits and deities of earth, sun, moon, stars, storm, thunder, lightning, earthquake, fire, wind, rain, volcanoes, mountains, rocks, seas, rivers, river mouths, waves, wells, trees, grasses, herbs, growth, vegetation, harvest, etc.[3]

3. The spirits of ancestors, especially great ancestors, i.e. emperors, national heroes, wise men and saints. The great *kami* of the mythological period, such as *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami*, *Izanagi*, *Izanami*, and *Susa-no-wo-no-mikoto*, are officially recog-

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The meaning of the poem appears to be, "By the *kamu* words of the consecrated priest, the ships in the bay of *Sumi*, whether they go or whether they come, they pass in safety."

1. *Watarahi no*
Itsuki no Miya yu,
Kamu kaze ni
Ibuki madowashi
Ama gumo wo;
Hi no me mo miezu.—*Manyōshū, op. cit.*, p. 704, No. 109. The sense may be rendered: "By the *kamu* breeze that blows from the sacred shrine of Watarahi [Ise] the clouds are scattered about; the eye of heaven is unseen."

2. *Manyōshū, op. cit.*, p. 703, No. 107.

3. *Cf.* A., I, pp. 1-63; C., pp. 1-34, 39-43, 45-49; Aston, *Shintō the Way of the Gods*, pp. 121-176.

nized in this sense. The orthodox interpretation attempts to make out that the personages just named are Japanese culture heroes. Japanese history abounds in records of famous human beings who at death were apotheosized and made the objects of general worship. *Inouye* Tetsujirō says, "All famous human beings become *kami*. This is true of Kwankō [*Sugawa* Michizane], Nankō [*Kusunoki* Masashige], *Kitabatake* Chikafusa, *Nitta* Yoshisada, *Nawa* Nagatoshi, *Ninomiya* Sontoku, *Yoshida* Shōin, and others."[1]

4. Superior human beings in actual human society, i.e. high government officials such as heads of departments and bureaus (ancient usage), feudal lords of the old regime, governors, emperors.

Among the names of the Daimyō, who at the time of the Restoration, "begged to be allowed to restore their fiefs to the Sovereign" are abundant examples of the use of *kami* as a state title, e.g. *Shimazu Awaji no Kami*, *Matsudaira Dewa no Kami*, *Hisamatsu Iki no Kami*, *Nagai Hizen no Kami*, and numerous others.[2] The *Shoku Nihongi* under the date of 698 A.D. (24th day, seventh month) speaks of the governor of the province of Ise as *Kami*.[3] The "Chief of the Administration of the Ise Shrines" was called *Saigu no Kami*.[4]

A poem in the *Manyōshū*, dated the first year of Reiki (715 A.D.) speaks of the ruler as *Sumerogi no Kami*, "Sovereign *Kami*."[5] A passage in the *Shoku Nihongi* reads, "The manifest god, descendant of the Goddess of High Heaven, he who now rules over the country of the eight great islands, His

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1. Cited in Tanaka, T., *Shindō Kwanken*, p. 6.

2. *Cf.* Phœnix, Nov. 1870, pp. 63-4. *Kami* in this sense is generally written 守, "a lord," "a governor."

3. T. J. S. L., Vol. XV (1916-17), p. 156.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 182. The *Saigu* of Ise was a virgin princess of the Blood engaged in the service of *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami*. The period of service ended only with the death of the *Saigu* or with the death or abdication of the emperor.

5. *Manyōshū*, *op. cit.*, p, 706, No. 230.

Majesty *Yamato Neko no Mikoto*."[1] The *Nihongi* similarly speaks of "The God Incarnate, the Emperor *Yamato Neko*, who rules the world."[2] Important personages in the social and political life here become living *kami* and the usage in this sense implies attitudes of respect, reverence and caution on the part of the *shimo*—all below the *kami*. On the other hand, there is no evidence that such *kami* ever during actual lifetime became the centers of organized cult and received worship at the shrines.

5. The government itself, colloquial usage. *Kami no on sata* is "a government order."[3]

6. Above in space; superior in location.[4] *Hito no kami ni tatsu* is "to stand above others." *Hashigami* (*hashi-kami*) is "above the bridge." *Kawakami* is used to indicate the upper waters of a stream in contradistinction with *kawa-shimo*, the lower. The blind masseur as he walks the streets in the evening still calls out, "*Amma, kami shimo sambyaku mon*, massage, from head (*kami*) to foot (*shimo*) three hundred *mon*." Further usages in this same sense are: one superior in age, a master, the first part of a thing, the upper part of a town, of the body, or of clothing, the first section of a Japanese poem, the direction of the imperial palace or the capital, the first fifteen days of a month or the first ten days of a month. *Okami-san* is a term of respect for the wife of another in lower class usage.

7. In a temporal sense, "the upper times," i.e. antiquity (rare).

8. The hair on the human scalp.[5]

9. Paper.[6]

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1. Trans. by J. Carey Hall, T. J. S. L., Vol. XV (1916-17), p. 152.
2. A., II, p. 210.
3. *Cf. Inouye*, Jukichi, *Comprehensive Japanese-English Dictionary* (Tokyo, 1921), p. 1063. *Kami* in this sense is written 上.
4. Written 上. So also for meaning number 7 given above.
5. Written 髪.
6. Written 紙.

10. Deity;[1] God; "The God of Heaven," (*Ama tsu Kami*); the Christian God; "The Lord of High Heaven" (*Tenjō no Shusai, Jōtei, Tentei, Ten*). These usages represent to a considerable extent the results of syncretism with Indian, Chinese, and Occidental thought.

In considering the above diversity of usage the question naturally arises as to whether there is not some possibility of arriving at a point of view which gives a unified perspective to ideas connected with the word *kami*. Revon who has made a most persistent attempt to unify the usage, after mentioning the difficulty that Japanese scholars have had in coming together on any plausible etymology, finally concludes that the only possible explanation is that which rests on the general sense of *kami* in the Japanese language which should be translated simply by the word *superieur*. Working from this point of view he finds a unity of such scope as to include even the meaning "paper" which is superior because of its special importance in the life of the Japanese people, particularly as the "precious preserver of tradition."[2]

Is this all that can be said, however, of an expression that is

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1. Written 神. Under *kami* thus written the *Dai Nihon Kokugo Jiten* (Vol. I, *A-ki*, pp. 938-9) classifies the following meanings:

(1) Those personages who lived in Japan prior to Jimmu Tennō.

(2) A sacred influence which is regarded as dwelling in the unknown, which knows that which is unknown to man, which works in all things and which brings happiness and misfortune on mankind.

(3) A term of respect for the Emperor.

(4) Spirits of human beings enshrined in the *Jinja* after death.

(5) The God of Christianity, the creator and governor of the universe.

(6) A term used to designate all fearful things (*Subete osoroshiki mono no sho*).

(7) Things that are beyond human comprehension.

(8) Thunder.

[(9) A jester, a buffoon, a drum beater who entertained at public houses in former times (rare)].

2. Revon, M., "Le Shintoisme," *Revue de L'Histoire des Religions*, Vol. XLIX, p. 28.

used to cover man's experiences with deities, ghosts, spirits of ancestors, and extraordinary members of human society—all those, who in the words of Maruyama, "excel in dignity, in ability, in virtue, in learning, or in shrewdness"—a word that is applied not only to that which is above but also to magical charms, to foxes, wolves and tigers, to trees, stumps, echoes, rocks, mountains and seas, to dragons and goblins, to thunder and lightning —to "all things whatsoever in the world which possess marvelous and strange virtue"?[1]

In attempting to answer this question, one is immediately reminded of that considerable list of similar religious terms in other languages which the researches of modern investigators of primitive culture have brought to light—such terms as *Mana* of the Melanesians, *Tabu* of the Polynesians, *Kamui* of the Ainu, *Kramat* of the Malays, *Tondi* of the Bataks of Sumatra, *Andriamanitra* of the natives of Madagascar, *Orenda* of the Iroquois, *Wakanda* of the Sioux, *Manitou* of the Algonquins, *Ngai* or *Engai* of the Masai, *Mulungu* of the Yao tribe of the Bantu peoples, *Oudah* of the Pigmies, *Inkosi* of the Zulus, *Tilo* of the Baronga, *Hasina* of Malagasy, *Atua* of the Maori, *Kalou* of the Fijians, *Arungquiltha* of the Australian Arunta, the old Norse *hamingja* and the *makt* of Swedish folklore.

Modern students of the elementary forms of the religious life have made use of the term *Mana* as a convenient name for expressing the uniformity of emotional reaction and resultant classification and interpretation of experience which these various words connote in the philosophy of primitive man.[2] The hypothesis is here advanced that the Japanese term *Kami* belongs to the *Mana* type of religious classification. *Kami* is essentially the same in meaning as *Mana*. In supporting this statement it is necessary to indicate more fully the most important elements in the meanings of the terms just listed.

1. Hirata. See above p. 139.

2. *Cf.* Marett, R. R., "The Conception of Mana," *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions*, Vol. I, pp. 46-57.

Mana, in the religious philosophy of the Melanesians,[1] may be defined as a marvellous wonder-working force manifested in any object or being that exhibits unusual power or superiority. Codrington says, "There is a belief in a force altogether distinct from physical and in a way supernatural . . . . This *mana* is not fixed in anything, and can be conveyed in almost anything." Also, while "it essentially belongs to personal beings to originate it," it may nevertheless appear in such humble objects as water, stones, or bones. In more specific illustration of ideas related with the term he says, "If a man has been successful in fighting, it has not been his natural strength of arm, quickness of eye, or readiness of resource that has won success; he has certainly got the *mana* of a spirit or of some deceased warrior to empower him, conveyed in an amulet of a stone round his neck, or a tuft of leaves in his belt, in a tooth hung upon a finger of his bow hand, or in the form of words with which he brings supernatural assistance to his side. If a man's pigs multiply, and his gardens are productive, it is not because he is industrious and looks after his property, but because of the stones full of *mana* for pigs and yams that he possesses. Of course a yam naturally grows when planted, that is well known, but it will not grow very large unless *mana* comes into play; a canoe will not be swift unless *mana* be brought to bear upon it, a net will not catch many fish, nor an arrow inflict a mortal wound."[2]

Marett summarizing from Tregear indicates the usage of *mana* in the wider Polynesian field. *Mana* is applied, in Maori, "to a wooden sword that has done deeds so wonderful as to possess a sanctity and power of its own; in Samoan, to a parent who brings a curse on a disobedient child; in Hawaiian, to the gods, or to a man who by his death gives efficacy to an idol; in Tongan, to whoever performs miracles, or bewitches; in Man-

1. *Cf.* Codrington, R. H., *Melanesians* (Oxford 1891), p. 118, note 1.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 120.

garevan, to a magic staff given to a man by his grandfather, or, again, to divination in general."[1] The term is also applied to a tribal chief, a healer of sickness, a successful pleader, or the winner of a race. The psychological basis of the *mana* idea may be said to lie in a naive interpretation of emotional reactions originating in experiences lying outside the regions of ordinary control.[2]

Tabu in its original, local usage among the Polynesians is to be understood as a form of the *mana*-idea. Behind the ideas of separation from ordinary usage and appropriation to special persons and things, is the more fundamental notion of sacredness. The psychological origin of this feeling of sacredness expressed in *tabu* is undoubtedly to be found in an emotional expansion or "thrill" in the presence of anything that thrusts itself on the attention in a sudden or extraordinary manner.[3]

The exceedingly diversified content of the Ainu term *kamui*

1. Tregear, E., *Maori-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary*, (Wellington, N.Z., 1891), s.v. *mana*. *Cf.* Marett, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

2. For literature on *mana*, in addition to Codrington, Marett, and Tregear as given above, see also Durkheim, Emile, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (Eng. trans. by Joseph Ward Swain from *Les formes elementaires de la vie religieuse*, Paris, 1912), pp. 61, 62, 188-239; Marett, R. R., art. "Mana," H.E.R.E., Vol. VIII, 375 ff.; Ames, Edward Scribner, *The Psychology of Religious Experience*, pp. 95-115; Söderblom, N., "Holiness" (General and Primitive) in H.E.R.E., Vol. VI, pp. 731-32; Hubert and Mauss, "Theorie Generale de la Magie" in *L'Annee Sociologique*, VII (1904); Marett, R.R., "Pre-Animistic Religions," in *Folklore*, XI (1900), pp. 162-182; Lovejoy, Arthur O., "The Fundamental Concept of the Primitive Philosophy," *Monist* (1906), XVI, pp. 357-382; King, Irving, *The Development of Religion*, pp. 132-164; Leuba, J., *A Psychological Study of Religion*, pp. 70-84, 122 ff., 163; Goldenweiser, A.A., "Spirit, Mana, and the Religious Thrill," *Journal of Philosophy, Psychology and Scientific Methods*, (1915), XII, pp. 632-640; Dewey, John, "The Interpretation of the Savage Mind," *Psychological Review*, 1902.

3. *Cf.* Tregear, E., *Maori-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary*, s.v. "Tabu," especially remarks under Hawaiian usage; Ames, *Psychology of Religious Experience*, p, 108; Thomas, N. W., Art. "Taboo," En. B., Vol. XXVI, pp. 337 ff.; Frazer, J. H., *Golden Bough*, I, 297-464; III, 1-134, 201-236, 463-467; Churchill, Wm., *Polynesian Wanderings*, (Washington, 1911), pp. 263, 264.

is to be seen in the following list of usages, "the maker of worlds and places," *i.e.* the chief of all the *kamui*, the progenitor of the Ainu race, the sun, the moon, fire, ordinary spirits such as those of storm, sea, springs, rivers, etc. bears, foxes, moles and wolves (when exhibiting extraordinary characteristics), autumn salmon, birds of good or bad omen, a locality remarkable for beauty or a place where fish and game abound, high or rugged mountains or mountains where bears abound, government officials and persons in high positions, *e.g.* the Emperor of Japan, beautiful flowers, pleasant dells, large trees, a cool breeze on a hot day, large waves of the sea, a "man-of-war" ship, a dog which has saved life, elephants, lions, evil spirits, reptiles, violent contagious diseases such as small-pox or cholera.[1]

The Malay word, *Kramat* is similarly applied to men, animals, plants, stones, etc. Blogden says, "When the word stands alone it almost invariably means a holy *place*, the word *tempat* being presumably understood. When applied to a person it implies special sanctity and miraculous power."[2] *Kramat* animals are generally marked by some extraordinary or uncanny characteristic, *e.g.* a shrunken foot, a stunted tusk, or albinism.[3]

Tondi, as in use among the Bataks signifies a mysterious force, power, or substance constituting the soul of man but appearing also in such objects as houses, boats, iron, animals, and plants (especially in rice).[4]

Ellis remarks concerning the natives of Madagascar, "Whatever is great, whatever exceeds the capacity of their understandings, they designate by the one convenient and comprehensive appellation, *Andriamanitra*. Whatever is new and useful and extraordinary is called god. Silk is considered as

1. *Cf.* T.A.S.J., Vol. XVI, pp. 20-28 Concerning the possibility of the word *kamui* having been borrowed from Japanese usage as expressed in *kami* or *vice versa*, *cf.* discussions by Batchelor and Chamberlain in T.A.S.A., *op. cit.*, pp. 17 ff., pp, 33 ff.

2. Cited in Skeat, W. W., *Malay Magic* (London, 1900), p. 673.

3. *Cf.* Skeat, *op. cit.*, pp. 71, 153, 163.

4. Warneck, Joh., *Die Religion der Batak* (Leipzig, 1909), pp. 8 ff., 46 ff.

god in the highest degree, the superlative adjective being added to the noun—*Andriamanitra-indrinda*. Rice, money, thunder and lightning, and earthquake are all called god. Their ancestors and a deceased sovereign they designate in the same manner. *Tarantasy* or book they call god, from its wonderful capacity of speaking by merely looking at it. Velvet is called by the singular epithet, 'son of god.'"[1]

Among the Iroquois of North America, *Orenda* indicates the mystic potency found in any extraordinary object of experience.[2] It is found in "the speech and utterance of birds and beasts, the soughing of the winds, the voices of the night, the moaning of the tempest, the rumble and crash of the thunder, the startling roar of the tornado, the wild creaking and cracking of wind-rocked and frost-riven trees, lakes and rivers, and the multiple other sounds and noises in nature."[3] *Orenda* may manifest itself in the shaman, in the skillful hunter, in prophets and soothsayers, in any man or animal who exhibits extraordinary prowess or cunning, in storms, charms, amulets, fetishes, or mascots, and in plants, trees, rocks, mountains, water, clouds, or sky.

Wakanda is a term used by the Sioux in connection with objects or persons regarded as possessing an unusual creative power, marvellous in operation. *Wakanda* was applied to a wide range of objects, such as mythological beings, sun, moon, earth, thunder, lightning, stars, storms, winds, certain plants, animals (such as bear, bison, and beaver), places of a striking character, blood, menstrual discharges, fetishes, ceremonial objects, the shaman, etc.[4] Irving King says of this term, "Whatever attracts attention in any way, or seems associated

1. Ellis, *History of Madagascar*, I, 391-2, cited by Marett, "Pre-animistic Religion," *Folklore, op. cit.*, p. 169.

2. Hewitt, J. N. B., "Orenda and a Definition of Religion," *American Anthropologist*, New Series, 1902, pp. 33, 45.

3 Hewitt, *op. cit.* p. 36.

4. *Cf.* McGee, *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Washington (1897) pp. 157, 182 ff.

with any striking occurrence, is thought to possess in some measure this mechanical, impersonal power. The wild animals, especially those characterized by cunning, fleetness, and great strength, were thought to owe it to some peculiarly intimate contact with this power. All human achievement, beyond the most commonplace, was not thought to be due to any special merit in the individual, but solely to his shrewdness or to his luck in making proper connections with *Wakonda*."[1]

In the philosophy of the Algonquins, *Manitou* is primarily a "mysterious quasi-mechanical essence, the active element in all that is strange, excellent, or powerful."[2] In explanation of the psychological origin of the idea, William Jones has written, "To experience a thrill is authority enough for the existence of the substance."[3] The following citation, from Roger Williams indicates the wide application of the term. "There is general custom amongst them [American Indians] at the apprehension of any excellency in men, women, birds, beasts, fishes, etc., to cry out *Manittoo*. . . . . if they see one man excel others in valor, strength, activity, etc., they cry out *Manittoo*. . . . . and therefore when they talk among themselves of the English ships and great buildings, and especially of books and letters, they will end thus: *Manittowock*."[4]

Thomson says of the Masai, "Whatever struck them as strange and incomprehensible, that they at once assumed has some connection with *ngai*. . . . . I was *Ngai*. My lamp

1. King, Irving, *op. cit.*, p. 139. See also Riggs and Dorsey, "Dakota-English Dictionary," *Contrib. N. Amer. Ethnol.*, VII, p. 508; Dorsey, J. O., "Omaha Sociology," *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1884), pp. 211 ff., 267; Durkheim, *op. cit.*, pp. 192, 193, 195 ff., 199; Lovejoy, *op. cit.* pp. 363-68; Fletcher, Alice, "On the Import of the Totem among the Omahas," *Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science*, 1897, p. 326.

2. King, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

3. Jones, Wm., "The Algonquin Manitou," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, Vol. XVIII, 1905, 183; *cf.* entire article, pp. 183-190.

4. "Key to the Languages of America" (1643), *Collections of the Rhode Island Historical Society*, I, quoted in Lovejoy, *op. cit.*, p. 368.

was *Ngai*"[1] The term is applied to rain, sky, volcanoes, sun, moon, morning and evening stars, clouds on the mountains steaming holes, deities, and spirits.[2]

Mulungu of the Yao tribe of the Bantu, is regarded as the active agent in anything mysterious or beyond the range of human comprehension. It is employed, for example, in speaking of the rainbow, good luck, spirits, or deity. Heatherwick connects the etymology with *kulungwa*, signifying "great" or "old," saying, "It is the same root which appears in the Kaffir word for God, *Unkulunkulu*, which may therefore be rendered as 'The old, old One,' or 'The great, great One.'"[3]

Among the Pigmy people of Central Africa, the expression *Oudah* serves to indicate a mysterious force or spirit manifested in any object that "catches the attention in the moment of surprise."[4] Marett says of Pigmy philosophy at this point, "His knife acts normally as long as it serves him to trim his own arrow-shaft. As soon, however, as it slips and cuts his hand, there is '*oudah*' in, or at the back of, the 'cussed' thing."[5] *Inkosi* of the Zulus and the term *Tilo* among the Baronga may be taken as setting forth essentially the same elementary philosophy.[6]

Hasina of Malagasy has been defined as an "indwelling or supernatural power, which renders a thing good and effective; the power of a medicine; the truth of a word; the efficacy of amulets and incantations; the holiness of a thing."[7]

The Maori applied the term *atua* to all the incomprehensible

1. Thomson, Joseph, *Through Masai Land* (London, 1885), p. 445.

2. Hollis, W. C., *The Masai* (Oxford, 1905), p. XIX.

3. Heatherwick, A., "Some Animistic Beliefs among the Yaas of British Central Africa," *Journal of Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. XXXII, p. 94; *cf.* entire article pp 89-95.

4. Ames, *The Psychology of Religious Experience*, p. 108.

5. Marett, R. R., "Is Taboo a Negative Magic?", *Anthropological Essays*, p. 230; cited in Ames, *op. cit.*

6. *Cf.*, Haddon, Alfred C., *Syllabus of Lectures on Magic and Primitive Religion.* (London, 1905), p. 6.

7. Söderblom, *op. cit.* 732.

activities of nature and to all supernatural beings and mysterious objects of any sort. "The strangers that first came among them sending thunder and lightning by the discharge of their fire-arms were real *atuas*. A watch, whose wonderful movements they did not understand, was an *atua*."[1]

Arungquiltha among the Australian Arunta is applied either to a supernatural, evil influence or to the object in which the influence is supposed to reside, such as bones, pieces of wood, poisonous animals or plants, the pointing stick of the medicine man, or the Churinga carried by the *Illapuringa* woman (lit. "the changed," *i.e.*, the avenging woman).[2]

The ancient Norse associated *hamingja* with the mysterious protecting genius of individuals and of clans. It was the supernatural element in luck and fate.[3] *Makt* is the mysterious 'might' or 'power' of Swedish folk lore. Söderblom says, "Men and animals can be 'might-stolen' (*makt-stulna*), through evil influence."[4] In other words, we meet here again a belief in a mysterious force or supernatural power that came and went in man and beast, under conditions that lay outside of ordinary control.

The above list does not assume to be exhaustive, yet it is deemed sufficiently extended for the purposes of the present discussion. The data just presented represent material gathered from the folk beliefs of all the grand divisions of the human race. An investigation of the usages connected with the various terms that have been brought under examination plainly indicates that, as far as diversity of content is concerned, the idea of *kami* presents no difficulties that students of religion have not already encountered in other fields and explained with a considerable degree of scientific consistency. Prior to attempting to draw conclusions

1. Featherman, *Social History of the Races of Mankind*, II, p. 207.

2. *Cf.* Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 548. Durkheim defines *Arungquiltha* as harmful *mana*. *Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, p. 197.

3. Söderblom, *op. cit.*

4. *Ibid.*

in the matter, however, it is necessary to consider Japanese usage relating to *kami* in the sense of hair on the human head.

As has been suggested previously, the standard explanation of *kami*, taken in the sense of hair on the human head, finds in it support for assigning a primary meaning of "above" or "superior." In as much as *kami* is employed variously to indicate "deity," "above," and "hair on the human head," it requires but little analysis to isolate a common element of superiority in degree or position and assign priority to this sense. There are important considerations, however, that bear against this interpretation. These considerations have to do with the fact that the hair on the human scalp is one of the principal objects of ceremonial treatment in Japan and, in both ancient and modern usage, presents aspects that would appear to justify an association with primitive supernaturalism or at least with the idea of mysterious superhuman force.

In considering the matter of the ceremonial treatment accorded human hair in Japan, it is important to bear in mind the special virtue which commonly attaches to hair as well as to the nails of toes and fingers, in lower culture generally. The hair on the human head is sacred. It is the seal of an oath, a charm against harm, and because of its intimate, sympathetic connection with the living body, itself, it is a powerful means of working magic; it is an offering to the deities or to the dead; it is an object of ceremonial treatment and an important means of communion with superhuman powers.[1] From the point of view of primitive man hair is a strange supercorporeal material that grows and changes form mysteriously on the body. It is thus filled with *mana*. Hence among the ancient Greeks, as well as

1 *Cf* Durkheim, *Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, pp, 64, 173 ff.; Warneck, *Die Religion der Batak*, pp. 9, ff.; Frazer, Golden Bough, I, pp. 44, 45, 193, 244, 341-2, 344-5, 353-5, 524, 570; Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 45; E. E. Sikes and Louis H. Gray, Art. "Hair and Nails," H.E.R.E., Vol. 6, pp. 474 ff. This last mentioned article should be consulted for further references and literature.

certain other races, it was regarded as the seat of life, itself.[1] Frazer says, with Polynesian usage especially in mind, "The head and hair, especially of a chief were particularly taboo or sacred—to touch a man's head was a gross insult. If a chief touched his own head with his fingers he had immediately to apply them to his nose and snuff up the sanctity which they had abstracted from his head. The cutting of a chief's hair was a solemn ceremony—the several locks were collected and buried in a sacred place or hung upon a tree."[2] Likewise among the Burmese the cutting of the hair of a king was a solemn and sacred act.[3] Similar usage obtained among the ancient Romans. Aulus Gellius, quoted by Fabius Pictor, says, "None but a freeman may cut a flamen's hair. He never touches or names a she-goat, raw-flesh, hair, or beans. . . . . The parings of his nails and the cuttings of his hair are covered with earth at the foot of a fruit tree."[4] This usage would seem to be fairly open to the interpretation that under the old Roman idea hair and nails contained a mysterious power that imparted additional life to the fruit tree. The early Hebrews were acquainted with the idea that the hair on the human head was a source of marvelous strength which could be brought under control by cutting off the hair.[5] The scalp-lock of the American Indian was regarded as associating the owner with the mysterious and supernatural power that controlled his life and death. Alice Fletcher says, "For anyone to touch lightly this lock was regarded as a grave insult."[6]

Sikes is of the opinion that the ancient widespread practice of leaving the hair uncut during a journey probably had its origin

1. H.E.R.E., *op. cit.*
2. Art. "Taboo," En. Brit., 9th ed.
3. H.E.R.E., *op. cit.*
4. Aulus Gellius, X, 15, Rome, 22, 28; Botsford, Source of Book of Ancient History, p. 339.
5. Judges, 16: 17-31.
6. Fletcher, Alice, *Handbook of American Indians*, cited in H.E.R.E., *op. cit.*

in a fear lest a stranger might come into possession thereof and work magic by means of the locks.[1]

Ideas of lucky and unlucky days for cutting nails and hair are common in early culture as well as are practices of caution in disposing of the cuttings.[2] Again, the idea is frequently met with that the mysterious potency in hair and nails can be brought to bear in the healing of sickness[3] This notion is further extended to that of a wider rapprochement with nature. The Maori believed that the cutting of the hair on the human head might cause a thunderstorm. The Romans seem to have held a similar idea.[4] Against this briefly sketched background we may make comparison of Japanese ideas concerning the peculiar sanctity and mysterious nature of the hair on the human head.

Human hair is frequently met with throughout Japan, presented at temples and shrines, supposedly as an offering to the gods or as the binding symbol of a vow. Some shrines and temples possess great ropes of human hair, braided from the offerings of successive generations ot suppliants. The evidence is good that in ancient Japanese culture hair received ceremonial treatment and was regarded as sacred or taboo. Hair on the head was worn long by both males and females,[5] although each sex appears to have had a characteristic coiffure even in very ancient times[6] Men wore their beards long.[7] It is recorded in the *Kojiki* that when *Haya-susa-no-wo-no-mikoto* was expelled from the High Plain of Heaven for violent misdemeanor, his hair was cut off and his toe and finger nails were pulled out.[8] Chamberlain properly calls attention to the cruelty in this latter

1 H.E.R.E., *op. cit.*

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Cf.* C., pp. 73-4, 45.

6. *Cf.* F., p, 76; C., Intro. pp. XLI-XLII.

7. *Cf.* C., p. 44.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 59 (Sect. XVII). One of the *Nihongi* variants says the hair on the head of *Susa-no-wo* was pulled out. *Cf.* A., I., 45 .

act but it is very questionable if, as he intimates, this form of treatment had its origin merely in a desire to inflict severe pain.[1] The removal of the nails is to be taken along with the cutting of the hair.[2] The object aimed at is identical in both cases, not to inflict suffering, primarily, nor, again, to brand with disgrace, but to remove in an effectual way a mysterious source of power, that is to get control over the offending deity. The account plainly seems to say that in this way an attempt was made to limit *Susa-no-wo* in strength and sacredness. It is recorded again that *Amaterasu-ō-mi-kami* as part of her preparation for a dangerous meeting with the same *Susa-no-wo*, unbound her "august hair" and twisted it again into "august bunches."[3] The idea that the hair on the human head is a medium of communication with supernatural powers still exists in modern Japan. Dr. M. Honda, writing of *Ōmoto-kyō*, has said, "The Ōmoto believers claim as a proof of the Japanese race being the gods' chosen people for the moral unification of entire humanity, that our hair has pith right up to the end while the white-skinned people's hair is dead three or four inches from its end. This is why, they say, we Japanese are more susceptible to spiritual influences than any other race, the hair being the receiver of spiritual messages. They therefore keep their hair at least three inches long, bound together as close to the head as possible and let down the back when it is long enough."[4] The Japanese wrestler, to whom superior physical prowess is a prime necessity, still wears his hair long. When the successful wrestler retires from the ring, his hair is cut in a dignified religious ceremony.[5] The cuttings of the hair are offered to the *kami* on the family

1. C., Intro., p. LV.

2. *Cf.* Art. "Hair and Nails," H.E.R.E., *op. cit.*

3. *Cf.* C., p. 45.

4. M. Honda, "Ōmoto-kyō: What it is and Why it Spread," *Japan Advertiser*, Jan. 27, 1921, p. 14.

5. The order of service in this ceremony, as furnished by the priest of the *Nomi no Sukune* Shrine at Midori Chō, Honjō, Tōkyo is as follows.

god-shelf or, more often, presented at the shrine of *Nomi-no-sukune*, the patron god of wrestlers.

The sacredness of the hair attaches to those objects that come closely in contact therewith. Especially is this true of combs. Hence, in Polynesian usage, for example, combs, particularly those of sacred persons, are taboo, and are the objects of special ceremonial treatment.[1] That Japanese beliefs and customs exhibit an attitude of caution toward combs and a special regard for them is readily apparent upon examination of the evidence. When *Izanagi* prepared to enter the lower world in search of his lamented mate he is recorded to have broken off a large end tooth from the comb that was "stuck in the august left bunch" of his hair and after lighting this to have

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"Order of Service for the Hair-cutting Ceremony.

On an elevated place in the room a sacred enclosure is made ready, sacred rope is hung and a rough straw mat is spread.

The Purification Ceremony is performed.

All make obeisance.

The divine spirit is summoned.

Warning at the coming of the *kami*].

All make obeisance.

Offerings are presented.

A Shintō priest recites *norito*.

The principal offers *tamagushi* [a branch of *sakaki* with *gohei* attached].

The priest offers *tamagushi*.

Visitors make congratulatory addresses.

The principal expresses his thanks.

Hair-cutting.

The principal takes his place. The person who cuts the hair stands behind him with scissors in hand. He inserts the scissors. An attendant receives the hair and lays it in a convenient place.

The principal retires at his convenience and adjusts his hair.

Offerings are withdrawn.

The divine spirit is sent away.

Warning. All make obeisance.

All retire."

1. *Cf.* Frazer, Art. "Taboo," En. Brit., 9th ed. For an account of the use of combs in magic see Skeat and Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, Vol. I, pp. 148, 156, 492, 420 ff.

gone in.[1] Apparently slight details are important here. It is not by chance, for example, that the story says *left* bunch. In the light of Japanese custom, this was the side of peculiar potency and the use of the comb is to be interpreted as exhibiting an old idea that it constituted a powerful, protective device for *Izanagi* as he entered the dangerous confines of *Yomi*. Again when pursued out of the lower world by *Yomo-tsu-shikome*, the Ugly Female of Hades, his defense against her was to make use of hair ornaments. His head-dress, cast down in the path of the oncoming Fury, turned instantly to grapes which stayed her while she devoured them. In like manner the pieces of the comb in the hair on the right side of his head, when cast down upon the ground, changed to bamboo sprouts and " while she pulled them up and ate them, he fled on."[2]

The *Nihongi* introduces the observations of the ancient chronicler to the effect that the story of *Izanagi* and his marvelous combs furnished the occasion for the rise of the cautious attitude toward combs prevailing " at the present day " which made the people fearful of casting such objects away in the night-time.[3] In the light of modern interpretations of the priority of customs as related to myths that embody or explain them, this comment in the *Nihongi* is to be taken as additional evidence for the existence in old Yamato culture of a special regard for the sanctity of hair ornaments. We read, again, that *Susa-no-wo* as a means of protecting the " Wondrous-Inada-Princess " from the eight-headed serpent of *Koshi*, transformed her into a comb which he stuck into his hair.[4] According to primitive ideas, no finer place of protection need be sought for ; not because the girl was concealed, but because she was made inviolable by the mighty taboo of comb and hair combined. Again, it was a lighted comb that constituted the protective device of *Hoho-*

1. C., p. 35.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 36-37.
3. F., pp. 50-51.
4. C., p. 62 ; F., p. 122.

demi-no-mikoto when he broke the taboo of the parturition house and looked in on his wife in childbirth.[1] The black comb of the old man, *Shiho-tsuchi-no-oji*, when cast upon the ground changed instantly into "a multitudinous clump of bamboos."[2] When the *Saigu*, or royal vestal virgin of Ise, was about to be sent away on her prolonged period of service at the Great Shrine, she was called to the palace and the emperor thrust a comb into her hair with his own hands. This was the *wakare no kushi*, or "comb of separation." Thus the sojourn of the virgin princess at Ise was brought under the taboo of comb and hair.[3] Motoori, writing near the close of the eighteenth century, shows that a precautionary attitude toward combs existed in his own day.[4] Messrs. Fujioka and Takagi, writing in the *Nihon Hakkwa Dai Jiten* have advanced the idea that the ancient practice connected with "the comb of separation" constitutes a possible explanation of why caution is exercised in presenting others with combs in modern Japan.[5] The *Adzuma Kagami* records the belief that the picking up of a cast off comb will result in the estrangement of blood relations.[6] Modern Japanese folk-lore still preserves the old notion.[7] The belief is probably to be carried back to an origin in a practice in which the violation of the taboo of cast off hair ornaments induced such ceremonial defilement as to actually result in the alienation of even those nearest of kin. A related superstition of modern Japan requires that if a cast off comb is picked up some object of possession must be thrown away in its stead.[8]

In summary, then, it may be said that Japanese usage pre-

1. A., I. p. 98.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 96.
3. *Nihon Hakkwa Dai Jiten*, Vol. III, p. 465.
4. *Cf.* C., p. 42, note 9.
5. *Nihon Hakkwa Dai Jiten, op. cit.*
6. *Adzuma Kagami*, under the second year of *Kenchō* (1250), 6th mo., 24th day.
7. *Nihon Hakkwa Dai Jiten, op. cit.*
8. *Ibid.*

sents unmistakable evidence of a precautionary attitude toward hair and hair ornaments. The Japanese ceremonial regard for hair is to be interpreted in the light of the supernatural associations which we find in the treatment of hair in other ethnic areas. In the light of the evidence it does not seem incorrect to conclude that the hair on the human head received its Japanese designation *kami*, not because of its superior position with reference to the other parts of the body, but because it was associated with the idea of a mysterious and superhuman power. If it be objected that it is only the hair on the human scalp, that is, on the *topmost* part of the body, that is *kami*, it may be answered that a study of the ideas of primitive man will show that it is exactly the hair on the human scalp which is generally associated most directly with the mysterious workings of *mana*. The sacred hair of the American Indian was the *scalp*-lock.[1]

The interpretation that *kami* belongs essentially to the *mana* type of religious classification is further elucidated by certain other considerations of an etymological character. From the very nature of the case this can not be advanced beyond the stage of probability, yet as far as it goes it gives support to the hypothesis herein set forth. Söderblom has already called attention to the fact that psychological analysis leads easily to the inference that early human reactions toward the extraordinary and startling objects of experience probably first expressed themselves in an exclamation or cry.[2] In view of this psychological inference the possibility arises that in the first syllabic element of the word *kami* we actually have the Japanese form of this primitive human cry. An extension of Miura's undeveloped hypothesis that certain Japanese words in the *ka*-series exhibit

1. With regard to *kami* in the sense of "paper" it is possible that the only connection with *kami* as interpreted above is that of mere phonetic coincidence, or, again, it is possible, as Revon says, that paper is *kami* because it is "superior," that is of unusual importance in the social life of the Japanese people. It is to be noted, however, that the most widely used magical devices of Shintō, namely the *gohei*, are made of paper.

2. *Cf.* H.E.R.E., Vol. 6., p 732.

a remarkable tendency toward bearing a content of mystery and strangeness, yields very suggestive results at this point. We may note a fairly inclusive group of apparently related *ka* forms in the Japanese language.

Ka, an exclamation of surprise. Note *nipa, nipa-ka,* suddenly; *ka-ba to,* suddenly.

Ka, the sign of interrogation or indefiniteness in Japanese syntax. This particle added to a clause or sentence indicates that the idea in the preceding words is indefinite, vague or ungrasped. The exclamatory form is probably the original of this interrogatory form.

Ka, ka-ori, ka-za, odor, smell; *ka-gu,* to smell.

Ka, kami, hair. *Cf. ka-pa, ka-ha, ka-wa,* fur, skin, hide. The old form *ka-pa,* fur, seems to be made up from the elements, *ka,* hair, and *pada,* an ancient term for surface, especially the naked surface of the body. In modern Japanese the archaic form *ka* passes into *ke.*

Ka-bu, ka-mu, ka-bi, ka-mi,[1] deity, sacred, etc. *Cf. oganu,* to worship.

Ka-bu, the stump of a tree. Motoori's statement that in ancient Japanese religion tree stumps were regarded as *kami* may be compared with the practices of the early Canaanites which made divinities of tree stumps, along with stone pillars, Asheras and Massebas. The original religious associations of the tree stump among the Canaanites were evidently phallic.[2]

Ka-bu, ka-buri, the head. The association here is possibly the widespread idea of primitive culture that the head is particularly sacred or *tabu.*[3]

Ka-buru, to receive on the head [hence, *kabuseru,* to cover], to come under some influence and as a result to be impelled in a

1. The form *tabu* of Polynesia assumes various similar phonetic variations, among them being, *tambu, kabu kabu* and *kapu. Cf.* Churchill, Wm., *Polynesian Wanderings,* p, 264.

2. *Cf.* Hopkins, E., W., *The History of Religions* (New York, 1918), p. 421.

3. *Cf.* Art. "Head," H.E.R.E., Vol. 6, pp. 532-40.

certain direction, to have a severe pain in the intestines or elsewhere, to break out with a skin eruption. Behind all these meanings there seems to be the idea of the operation of a hidden, mysterious influence. Given the idea of touching to the head as making sacred or taboo, it is easy to see how this may well be the case. In one meaning the operation of hidden influence is directly stated, while in the meanings, "to have a severe pain" and "to break out with a skin eruption," it is possible to discern, from the point of view of an ancient diagnosis, the idea of the activity of some mysterious agency. Note also in this connection *ka-bure*, a skin-eruption, poisonsing, good or evil influence, leaven.

Ka-karu, to depend on, to hang, to afflict with, to be possessed by, etc.

Ka-ki, fence, boundary, enclosure. *Cf. ki*, tree.

Ka-giru, to limit, to restrict. *Cf. kiru*, to sever, to divide, to limit.

Ka-bi, mould, mildew, buds of plants.

Ka-mosu, to brew.

Ka-i, rice in the ear, a head of grain. The term appears in the ancient *norito*.

Ka-zu, number; *kazu kazu*, in great numbers.

Ka-ji, rudder.

Ka-gamaru, to be crooked, bent.

Ka-ga-yaku, to shine, to glitter. *Cf. yaku*, to burn.

Ka-kureru (*v. i.*), to hide, to disappear, to die, to perish.

Ka-kusu (*v. t.*), to hide, to conceal.

Ka-ku, to wane (of the moon), to be defective, to be broken, to be flawed, to lack. *Cf. ku, kuru*, to come. Also, *kaku*, to scratch, to write, to draw a picture.

Ka-me, turtle, tortoise—used in ancient Japanese divination. The method of divination, which was perhaps borrowed from continental usage, was to heat the shell of the tortoise in fire and to read the marks left by the scorching. It is possible that *me* is here the same as *me*, "eye," a word which has a large number of

derivative meanings, among them "markings," as on measuring-sticks, dice, checkerboards, etc.

Ka-ge, ka-ga, reflection, shadow; divine influence, power, or help. *Cf. kagami*, mirror. The *ge* or *ga* of *kage* (*kaga*), shadow, is perhaps the same as *ke* (*ge*), spirit, appearance, aspect. *Cf. ke-muri*, smoke; *ke-si*, strange.

Ka-ze, wind. *Ze* is possibly the same as the archaic term for wind, *si* or *shi*. For an example of the s-z mutation *cf. si, sisi, sizi*, thick.

Ka-pa, ka-ha, ka-wa, river. In the application of *ka* to wind and river we may find, on the hypothesis here assumed, an indication of early human reactions toward the mystery of moving air and water.

Ka-suka, ka-soka, dim, faint, vague, distant and indistinct.

Ka-sumi, haze.

Ka-nasi, ka-nashi, sad, melancholy.

Ka-siko, ka-shikoshi, awful, dreadful, venerable (derived meaning).[1]

All this may be nothing more than coincidence. Yet if coincidence is everything that can be said in the matter, surely it is most remarkable. The fact that we actually have, in the archaic Japanese language, a form in which *ka* appears as an exclamation of surprise lends considerable support to the conjecture that this original cry has entered into the composition of numerous other words that arose out of emotional reactions in the presence of whatever was mysterious, startling, unassimilated in the social life, or regarded as connected with some uncontrolled influence. *Ka* is undoubtedly one of the primary elements of original Japanese speech. It has the phonetic form of a most primitive cry.[2] It is not impossible that it came over into human speech out of pre-human articulation.

The element *mi* in *kami* need not detain us. If the above

1. On the above meanings consult *Dai Nihon Kokugo Jiten, s.v.*

2. *Cf.* Aston, W.G., "Japanese Onomatopes and the Origin of Language," *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, Vol. 23, pp. 332-62.

analysis has in it anything more than mere coincidence, then the *mi* syllable may be accounted for in the same sense as numerous other analogous forms in the Japanese language. It is possible, as Miura suggests, that it signifies substantiality or form. It may likewise be taken in the sense of the common suffix *mi*, similar in meaning to the English "ness," denoting quality or state, as in *akami*, "redness," (*aka*, "red"), *omomi*, "weight" (*omoi*, "heavy"), etc. In this sense *kami* would mean simply *ka*-ness. If either *kamu* or *kabu* is found to be original then the u-i mutation must be accounted for. This form of discussion, however, cannot be carried at present beyond the stage of conjecture. Whatever the correct etymology of *kami* may be, the actual historical usage is as has been given in the preceding discussion.

We may turn to the general summary of the argument of this chapter. In this connection it is to be said that unity is to be found in the different meanings of *kami* just as it is found, for example, in the various applications of *mana* or *orenda*. In other words, *kami* is fundamentally a term that distinguishes between a world of ceremonially sacred things, thought of as filled with mysterious power, and a world of common things (*shimo*) that lie within the control of ordinary technique.

Although upon examination of the meanings of the various terms from the ethnic fields that have been just considered, minor differences can be distinguished, dependent primarily upon variation in geographical and social factors, yet in their general applications all the forms are identical. From a psychological standpoint they are markers for the "super-ordinary," spirit world of primitive man. Even in their detailed meanings there is remarkable similarity. The ceremonial regard for white snakes, white foxes, white birds, etc., in Shintō is to be matched with the Malayan belief in which animals that exhibit albinism are *kramat*, that is connected with a mysterious, superhuman power. Izanagi's staff which was *kami* is repeated in the magic staff of the Mangarevan which was *mana*. The same is true of

Izanagi's sword. The wonderful sword of the Maori is *mana*. Among the natives of Madagascar the book of the European which could speak when merely looked at was "god." To the Masai a lamp was a mysterious being. The Ainu called the European warships *kamui*. Among the Algonquins, English ships and great buildings were *manitoo*. The Japanese peasants propitiated the first foreign-style houses that they saw. All these usages originate in the same fundamental emotional reactions. That elementary Japanese world view which finds *kami* in sun, moon, sky, fire, storm, thunder, lightning, earthquake, sea, rivers, springs, water, plants, trees, rocks, mountains, foxes, wolves, badgers and men is seen, on actual investigation, to be based on a primitive *human* experience which reaches back in time to an unknown antiquity and which in geographical extension fairly covers the earth. The Shintō practice which makes *kami* of emperors, of ancestors and of individuals of "superior merit," is to be analyzed and accounted for with exactly the same psychological apparatus as is used, for example, in explaining the fact that the living *shaman* and the great chiefs of the Sioux are regarded as having made mysterious connections with *wakanda*, or that in Madagascar ancestors and deceased sovereigns are *andriamanitra*.

All the terms that have been examined reflect attitudes and emotions of caution, awe, fear, wonder, reverence or expansion in the presence of a great mass of experiences with various sorts of objects in the environment in which man has found himself. These diverse objects are, nevertheless, united in this, that all, in one way or another, are extraordinary, new, terrifying, or of unusual significance, that is unassimilated or not fully controlled in the ordinary life of the individual and the group, and thus to be guarded against with precautionary ceremony. The unique object of experience, whether sun, moon, storm, wind, thunder, lightning, strange tree, aged stump, stone of odd shape, uncanny animal, skillful hunter, great chief or mighty sovereign—whatever it may be—induces an unusual emotional response. This is the

"religious thrill." For the sake of exactness we may, perhaps better, adopt the old Japanese exclamation or cry and call it a *ka*-emotion or a *ka*-reaction. This *ka*-emotion lies at the very basis of primitive supernaturalism; or, if "supernaturalism" seems to imply a distinction that early man never knew, it may be said that this emotional reaction lies at the basis of all primitive philosophy of the superordinary. In arriving at this philosophy primitive man simply makes a generalization of his separate experiences. The *ka*-emotion throws the attention into special activity, a "watch out" attitude is induced, the emotion is found to repeat itself in contact with a multitude of diversified objects which externally appear to have no connection whatsoever. Nevertheless the uniformity of the emotion becomes the ground on which the intelligence posits the existence of a corresponding agency operating as a uniform cause in all the various objects that have stimulated the emotion itself. This is *kami*; it is *mana* or *orenda*. In other words since there is no place for the unique object in the ordinary, well-known, everyday world, it is put into a mysterious, "over-head" world and treated with a special technique; it is either in and of itself *kami*, or *kami* appears in it as a marvel-working force. Precautionary ceremonial handling of such objects becomes all important and these precautionary activities themselves become sacred customs and sacred rituals.

With such conclusions in mind it hardly needs to be pointed out that the *kami*-idea of Shintō does not have its basis in an original pantheistic world view. Old Shintō is not pan-psychism or hylozoism.[1] Nor, again, is the original idea of *kami* an ancient recognition of the revelation of the "Great Life of the Universe."[2] The psychological analysis of the Japanese idea and a comparison with the usages of other fields leaves absolutely no remainder to be accounted for under such terms as pantheism or pan-psychism.

Modern Shintō still preserves the ancient philosophy of *kami*. Mr. T. Kanamori, writing from the standpoint of the

1. See above p. 4.
2. See above p. 102.

rank and file of the Japanese people, has given a statement of present day ideas regarding *kami* that might almost serve as a definition of *mana*. "The Japanese term *kami*, in a word, indicates anything that possesses power that is superior to the human. It is not limited to men. Birds, beasts and insects, in case they are regarded as possessing mysterious force are immediately looked upon as *kami*. Old foxes, old badgers, big snakes, centipedes, all are worshipped as *kami*. If a great tree is found standing out conspicuously in the forest, it is said, 'in that tree dwells a tree-spirit,' and immediately a sacred rope (*shime nawa*) is hung about it. A great rock is worshipped as *Ō-iwa-dai-myō-jin* ('Big-Rock-Great-Wonderful-God'). Also there are people who worship the sun, moon and stars as *kami*."[1]

A recently published study, entitled *Ujigami to Ujiko*, "Tutelary Deities and their Protégés," takes up the account of the existing religious life of the Japanese people as it centers in the Shintō shrines. Although the investigation is far from systematic, yet it does present first-class evidence going to show the extent to which the old-*kami*-idea is still central in modern Shintō. According to this book the *kami* worshipped at the shrines include the following: "the three *kami* of creation" who appear at the very beginning of the *Kojiki*, namely *Ame-no-mi-naka-nushi-no-kami*, *Taka-mi-musubi-no-kami*, and *Kami-musubi-no-kami*; the two great parents of the race, *Izanagi* and *Izanami*; the two great ancestors of the Imperial Line, namely *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami* and *Susa-no-wo-no-mikoto*; other ancestral *kami*, both of the Imperial Family and of the common people; *O-kuni-nushi-no-kami*, "who governs the Hidden World"; the moon god (*Tsuki-yomi-no-mikoto*); the great food-goddess (*Uke-mochi-no-kami*); the harvest god (*Mi-toshi-no-kami*); the *kami* of the five elements, i.e. of wind, fire, metal, water and earth; *kami* of the sea, of grasses, of trees, of mountains, of rivers, of river-mouths, of the distribution of water, of wells, of

1. *Kanamori*, Tsūrin, *Shinkō no Susume* (金森通倫 信仰の勧め, "An Exhortation to Faith," Tokyo, 1916), pp, 10-11.

kitchens (*Kamado-no-kami*), of gateways and of privies (*Kawaya-no-kami*); patron *kami* of tradesmen such as the *kami* of carpenters or the *kami* of smiths; patron *kami* of one's birthplace; *kami* who protect the coming and going of ships; phallic *kami* (*Saruta-hiko-no-kami*, *Sahe-no-kami*, *Dōsojin*, etc.); *kami* who bring happiness and intelligence; *kami* who bring misfortune and evil (*maga-kami*); and also spirits of enemies living and dead, of foxes and of badgers who cast malign influences and curses on men.[1]

This outline of the modern Shintō pantheon to which the discussion in *Ujigami to Ujiko* introduces us, incomplete though it is, yet serves to make plain the fact that modern Shintō still breeds true to original type. Another contemporary publication includes in the pantheon "the eight myriad *kami* of heaven and the eight myriad *kami* of earth who have divided control over mountains, rivers, grains, grasses and trees,—that is over all things of the universe."[2]

A first hand study of the shrines will confirm the above statements of the idea of *kami* in modern Shintō. The most popular rural shrines are those of Inari, a *kami* whose exact origins are obscure but who, nevertheless, is assigned the primary function of presiding over food especially over rice. A census of Inari shrines, if it could be secured, would furnish valuable evidence regarding one of the preponderant religious interests of modern Japan. A conservative estimate of the number of Inari shrines must place the total well up in the thousands. Inari, if rightly propitiated and appealed to grants the "hundred cereals," wealth, general prosperity, and happiness to man.[3] His messenger is the mysterious fox. In numerous cases, however, the

1. *Suzuki*, Takeichi, *Ujigami to Ujiko* (鈴木武一, 氏神と氏子, "Tutelary Deities and their Protégés," Tokyo, 1920), Appendix, pp. 1-9.

2. *Kanzaki*, Kazusaku, *Shintō Honkyoku Kiyō* (神崎一作, 神道本局紀要, "A Memoir on Shintō Honkyoku," Tokyo, 1914), p. 8.

3. *Cf. Ishikura*, Shigetsugu, *Kasama Inari Jinja Engi* (石倉重継, 笠間稲荷神社縁起, "The History of the Kasama Inari Shrine," Kasama, Ibaraki Province, 1904), pp. 5-7.

fox itself is worshipped as Inari. Inari shrines are a part of the official cult. An example of this relationship is to be seen in the fact that the chief priest of the great Inari Shrine at Kasama in Ibaraki Province receives the treatment of a state official appointed under the approval of the Emperor (*sōnin* rank).

The official definition that Shintō is not a religion and that the idea of *kami* in the state cult does not partake of the supernaturalism of ordinary religion must likewise be made to cover various phallic shrines, as, for example, the Ebishima Shrine near Ishikoshi, north of Sendai, the Shrine of the "Road-Ancestor-God" (*Dōsojin*) of Wakayanagi, also near Ishikoshi, shrines to *Dōsojin* at Ichinoseki, at Kashima, and at Aikomura in Rikuzen, the Iwato Shrine of Shikoku, also shrines of phallic *kami* at Miyanoura and elsewhere in the Inland Sea.[1] Japanese *kami* under more than eighty different names have been identified as associated with phallicism.[2] In the village of Kiryū, of the district of Yamada, in Kozuke, is a forked tree which is worshipped as the *kami* of male and female union (*danjo engumi no kami*).[3] Small way-side shrines are frequently found near forked trees. A plain forked stick may sometimes be found thrown in at phallic shrines along with emblems of the *phallus* and *kteis*. A phallic deity is sometimes called *mata-no-kami* or *chimata-no-kami*, "crotch-*kami*" or "fork-*kami*." All this is a part of the cult of the shrines.

At certain shrines tooth-ache is cured; some specialize in eye diseases, others in ear trouble; there are numerous shrines where the *kami* protect against conscription into the Japanese army.

1. *Cf. Chūō Bukkyō*, "*Dōsojin to Seishokki Sūhai*," Sept., 1921, pp. 62-72 (中央佛教, 道祖神と生殖器崇拜, *The Central Buddhism*, "Road Ancestor Gods and Phallicism").

2. *Cf. Shin Fukyō*, "*Shūkyō to Seiyoku*," March and April, 1921 (Double Number), pp. 120-121 [新布教, 宗教と性慾, *New Propagandism* (Buddhist), "Religion and Sex Hunger"].

3. *Itō*, Entei, *Sekai Jūdai Shūkyō Hayawakari* (伊藤圓定, 世界十大宗教早わかり, "An Introduction to the Ten Great Religions of the World," Tokyo, 1920), p. 787.

The *icho* or gingko tree is a sacred object at many modern shrines. In the eastern suburbs of the city of Sendai a magnificent specimen of this tree, with large mammilliform protuberances, is regarded as the shrine of a *kami* who supplies milk to nursing mothers. The tree has before it the regulation *torii* which marks all shrines in the official cult. The same thing may be found widespread throughout Japan. The exceedingly diversified nature of the content of the *kami*-idea of modern Shintō may be further seen in the fact that between the years 1869 and 1916 the spirits of 120,070 persons who lost their lives in the active military service of the Japanese state were enshrined in the *Yasukuni* Shrine of Tokyo.[1] These also are *kami* of the modern official cult.

This complex religious idea gives us modern Shintō, which is thus neither exclusively ancestor worship nor exclusively nature worship; nor, again, can it be fully defined merely as an amalgamation of the two. Shintō is *kami*-cult, with *kami* understood in the sense of *mana*.

In the foregoing investigation we have had under survey the fundamental idea of Shintō. The conception which the examination lays bare is simply that of naive philosophy the world over. The idea of *kami* is certainly not unique, in spite of what Japanese apologists for the official cult like Ōkuma and Haga may say to the contrary. On the other hand, the idea of an "over-head" world, permeated by a mysterious and magical force, is exactly that of primitive religion and philosophy everywhere.

The investigation cannot stop here, however. It needs to be remembered that Japanese officialdom has declared that whatever ideas or beliefs the people themselves may have, the government does not look upon the shrines as being religious in nature. It is necessary to carry the discussion more directly over onto that ground which the government itself has marked

1. *Kamō*, Momoki, *Yasukuni Jinja Ichiran* (賀茂百樹, 靖國神社一覽, "A Guide to the Yasukuni Shrine," Tokyo, 1919), p. 4.

out as the area of the true cult of the shrines. It is incumbent upon us, then, to investigate specifically the claims made regarding the great *kami* that head the imperial genealogies of modern Japan. In the ensuing discussion we must take up the problem of the historicity of some of the most important characters involved in the ancestral theory of modern official Shintō.

CHAPTER VI.

The Mythology of the Official Cult:

The Original Parents.

Article I of the present Constitution of Japan in the official English translation reads, "The Empire of Japan shall be reigned over and governed by a line of Emperors unbroken for ages eternal."[1] Article III, following declares, "The Emperor is sacred and inviolable." We have here stated two propositions that have become fundamental dogmas in modern political Shintō. In Article I is expressed the dogma of a single dynasty unchanging from time immemorial and closely involved therewith the idea that this indestructible line must continue on into an unlimited future. In Article III is stated the dogma of the sacred person of the Emperor. Prince Itō, who more than any other individual Japanese subject was responsible for the contents of the Constitution, defines the close connection existing between Articles I and III when he says "The Emperor is Heaven descended, divine and sacred."[2] In other words a convincing manifestation of imperial divinity is to be found in the unbroken genealogical connections with the Divine Ancestors of the Age of the Gods.

Itō in exposition of Article III has further written, "Since the time when the first Imperial Ancestor opened it, the country has not been free from occasional checks in its prosperity nor from frequent disturbances of its tranquillity; but the splendor

1. For editions of the official English translation of the Japanese Constitution consult Itō, H., *Commentaries on the Constitution of the Empire of Japan* (Tokyo 1889); T. A. S. J., Vol XLII, Pt. I, pp. 136 ff.; Uehara, *The Political Development of Japan*, Appendix, pp. 277 ff. For the Japanese text of the Constitution together with the original of Itō's Commentaries see 伊藤博文, 帝國憲法皇室典範義解, first ed., 1889; seventh ed., 1914.

2. See above p. 121.

of the Sacred Throne transmitted through an unbroken line of one and the same dynasty has always remained as immutable as that of the heavens and of the earth. At the outset, this Article states the great principle of the Constitution of the country, and declares that the Empire of Japan shall, to the end of time, identify itself with the Imperial dynasty unbroken in lineage, and that the principle has never changed in the past, and will never change in the future, even to all eternity. It is intended thus to make clear forever the relations that shall exist between the Emperor and His subjects."[1] The Preamble to the Imperial House Law contains the statement, "The Imperial Throne of Japan, enjoying the Grace of Heaven and everlasting from ages eternal in an unbroken line of succession, has been transmitted to us through successive reigns."[2] The Preamble to the Constitution likewise opens with the words, "Having, by virtue of the glories of Our Ancestors ascended the Throne of a lineal succession unbroken for ages eternal. . . . ."[3]

1. Itō, *Commentaries*, pp. 2-3.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 153.

3. *Ibid*, Intro. p. XI.

The sacred character of the Emperor is officially supported by surrounding his contacts with his subjects with numerous safeguards and restrictions that are written into the national laws themselves. In these various regulations it is possible to discern the influence and continuation of ancient taboos such as are attached to sacred persons in early culture. Regulations regarding the use of the imperial name on the part of the people may be noted first. In old Japanese civilization the name of a royal person was an *imi-na*, that is a tabu-name, and usage thereof was limited to emperors and princes of the blood (*Cf.* Harada, T., "Names (Japanese)," H. E. R. E., Vol. 9, p. 167). Modern Japanese law perpetuates this old safeguard. Subjects may make use of the separate ideograms of the imperial names in writing personal or family names, but the private name of the Emperor in its entirety is still taboo. The law of March 28, 1873 says relative to this matter, "The usage of the ideograms of the names of past Emperors or of the name of the reigning Emperor is not forbidden to the people from now on. However, it is not permitted to use the imperial name as such." (H. Z., 1873, p. 155, Order of the Council of State, No. 118). This situation in modern Japan is to be studied as a primitive survival utilized in the interests of political control. To be understood it must be compared with the elaborate protections and prohibitions with which the secret names

These ideas thus written prominently into the most important documents of the Japanese state are constantly echoed and reechoed throughout the length and breadth of modern Japan from teacher's desk, from press and from speaker's platform

of sacred persons such as sorcerers, chiefs, priests and kings are surrounded in lower culture. The Japanese usage is to be examined in the light of what modern anthropology has to say concerning widespread practices relating to name-souls and the magical use of names in casting spells even to the extent of bringing death to others by manipulating their real names. The modern Japanese law which withholds the private name of the Emperor from the danger and defilement of popular usage is only one instance of a similar practice in other fields. Material for comparative study here is very extensive. In certain primitive societies punishment with death was visited upon those subjects who took the royal name as their own. [For literature and discussion see Foucart, G., "Names (Primitive)," H. E. R. E., Vol. 9, pp. 130-6. For a case in modern Japan of suicide arising out of social chagrin at an illegal use of the sacred imperial name see W. M. McGovern, *Modern Japan* (London, 1920), p. 129].

In royal journeyings contacts with the people are likewise closely guarded. A law issued on March 9, 1873 covers the matter of imperial processions with the following regulation, "On the occasion of an imperial procession, people passing along the imperial route, at sight of the royal ensign, must dismount from horses and vehicles, must remove coverings such as umbrellas and hats and, standing by the wayside, must make obeisance." (H. Z., 1873, p. 76. Order of Council of State, No. 96). The application of the law is extended so as to prevent looking down on the Emperor from any superior position as from upper windows or tramcars. With this Japanese practice is to be compared the widespread idea of the sacredness of the head and the notion that the head must not come below any inferior or contaminating person or thing. (*Cf.* "Head," H. E. R. E., Vol. 6, pp. 532-40, esp. p. 532).

The great detail with which the Japanese government controls the contacts between the common people and the Sovereign may be seen in regulations setting forth the "Form of Obeisance for Students on the Occasion of an Imperial Procession" [Emperor, Empress and Crown Prince]. The directions cover both military and non-military occasions. The former incidentally reflects the extent to which military training is a part of the normal Japanese educational system, especially in Middle Schools. The regulations read: "The form of obeisance for students on the occasion of an imperial procession is fixed as follows.

"1. Military form. The school principal and staff shall take their places at the extreme right of the entire corps. Group leaders shall take their places to the right of each group. Students shall have previously fixed bayonets. On the appearance of the vanguard of the imperial procession the leaders shall give the command, 'Attention!' Students shall assume an erect and unmoving attitude.

alike. The establishing of genealogical connections that are "everlasting from ages eternal" necessitates identification with various personages appearing in the ancient Shintō pantheon, a fact which, in turn, supplies a basis on which a modern Shintō writer like *Tanaka* Yoshitō can claim the Japanese Constitution itself as a Shintō document.[1]

When the imperial carriage has approached to approximately ten paces from the company the leaders shall command, 'Present Arms.' All shall simultaneously present arms. When the imperial procession has passed to approximately ten paces to the left they shall take their former positions.

"After the imperial carriage has passed to the extreme left of the corps, principal, teachers and group leaders shall take up their positions to the left.

"2. Non-military form (includes girl students). The school principal and staff shall take their places at the extreme right of the entire body. Group leaders shall take their places to the right of each group. On the appearance of the vanguard of the imperial procession the command, 'Attention!', shall be given and all shall remove hats simultaneously and shall assume an erect and unmoving attitude. When the imperial carriage comes in front of the group leader the command, 'Salute,' shall be given and all shall make obeisance (that is, with eyes fixed on the imperial carriage the upper part of the body shall be bent forward about thirty degrees). At the command, 'As you were!', they shall take their former positions.

"After the imperial carriage has passed to the extreme left of the body, principal teachers and group leaders shall take up their positions to the left."

(Department of Education. Order No. 18, August 26, 1910. *Genkō Tokyofu Gakurei Ruisan*, p. 346).

Regulations regarding the public use of imperial portraits are as follows:

"1. The portraits of the Emperor and of the members of the imperial family whether or not they bear the imperial titles or names must not be reproduced except as imperial portraits.

"2. Imperial portraits must never be so made as to show carelessness or disrespect.

"3. The imperial portrait must not be hung or exhibited in a place of disrespect.

"4. The imperial portrait must not be put on sale or distributed at street-stalls." (*Genkō Tokyofu Gakurei Ruisan*, pp. 1-2). The sale of the imperial portrait in regular shops is fully permitted. In such cases the royal features are frequently screened by attaching a piece of white paper. The government regulation covering the care of the imperial portraits in public schools has already been given. (See above, p. 75, n. 1).

1. Tanaka, Y., *Shintō Tetsugaku Seigi*, p. 208.

The question is thus raised for us as to how we shall interpret the oldest Japanese ancestral traditions. The Japanese government by declaring that Shintō is not a religion, while at the same time attempting to retain the support of the ancient genealogical connections assigned to important personages of state, would appear to be logically under the necessity of declaring that the gods were men. That the government has not made its position altogether clear in this matter will be shown later. Whatever theological presuppositions may be involved in the official standpoint, it is to be here noted that the government does attempt to build on the proposition that the great *kami* of the ancient records are to be accounted for completely under the ancestral hypothesis. The implications of such a position are fully carried out in the instruction administered under official direction in the public schools of Japan.

In presenting an example of the manner in which the details of this state pedagogy are worked out in the modern Japanese educational system we may cite the recently published *Chū Gaku Nihon Rekishi*, "Japanese History for Middle Schools," a text-book which, on the word of the publishers, has a wider usage in the Middle Schools of Tokyo than any other similar work. It is also extensively used in the provinces. According to this text-book, the relevant portion of the royal pedigree is as follows:

"*Summarized Genealogy of the Imperial Family.*

Izanagi-no-mikoto and *Izanami-no-mikoto*

Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami. — *Tsuki-yomi-no-mikoto.* — *Susa-no-wo-no-mikoto.*

Ame-no-oshi-ho-mimi-no-miko'o. — *Ō-kuni-nushi-no-mikoto.*

Ama-tsu hiko-hiko-ho-no ninigi no-mikoto.

Hiko-ho-ho-demi no-mikoto.

Hiko-nagisa take u gaya-fuki-aheзu-no-mikoto.

Jimmu Tennō (First Emperor. Original Japanese name is *Kamu-yamato-ihare-hiko-no-mikoto*). Ascended the throne 660 B.C."[1]

1. *Shiba*, Kuzumori, *Chū Gaku Nihon Rekishi* (芝葛盛, 中學日本歷史上卷,

From this point on the genealogy continues down through the officially established lineage to the reigning Emperor who accordingly came to the throne as the one hundred twenty-second Emperor in the 2572nd Year of the Empire after the accession of Jimmu Tennō. The reigning Emperor is thus the direct descendant of *Izanagi* and *Izanami*, and of course of the Great Ancestress, *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami*.

Chapter I of the discussion after a characteristic introduction takes up the explanation of the genealogy. The text reads:

"PART I. ANCIENT HISTORY.

"CHAPTER I. THE DIVINE AGE.

"*Our National Constitution.* Our Empire of Great Japan, with an Imperial Line above unbroken from time immemorial and with its subjects below matchless in loyalty and patriotism, from ancient times down to the present has never once received a foreign insult.

"Such a national character is without parallel throughout the world and is, indeed, a cause for great pride on the part of our people.

"*The Beginning of the Country.* Tradition says that in the very ancient history of our country there were two *kami*, male and female, called *Izanagi-no-mikoto* and *Izanami-no-mikoto*. These two created the Eight-Great-Island-Country [Japan] and gave birth to *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami* and to *Susa-no-wo-no-*

"Japanese History for Middle Schools," 2 Vol., Tokyo, 1917), Vol. I, Intro., p. 1. The meanings of the elaborate titles of the descendants of *Ama-terasu ō-mi-kami* are very difficult to determine. Following Chamberlain's suggestions, however they may be given the tentative renderings: (1) His Augustness Heavenly-Great-Great-Ears, (2) His Augustness Heavenly-Sun-child-Sun-child-Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty, (3) His Augustness Great-Rice-ears-Lord-ears, (4) His Augustness Sun-child-Wave-limit-Brave-Cormorant-Thatch Meeting-Incompletely, (5 His Augustness Divine-Yamato-Ihare-Sun-child. The repetition of the elements *hi* ("sun," "fire," "light," "day"), and *ho* ("fire") in the titles would seem to favor the conjecture that the idea of light is prominent in the genealogy.

mikoto. Ama terasu-ō-mi-kami, as the one possessing the highest virtue, ruled over *Takama-ga-hara*. Her younger brother, *Susa-no-wo-no-mikoto*, performed many acts of violence and, on account of causing suffering to the Great Deity [*Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami*], he was finally driven out and went down to Idzumo. There he subdued the rebels and secured the Sacred Sword (*Mura-kumo-no-tsurugi*, "Clustering-clouds-Sword") which he presented to the Great Deity.

"*The Presentation of the Country by Ō-kuni-nushi-no-mikoto.* The *kami* known as *Ō-kuni nushi-no-mikoto* was the son of *Susa-no-wo-no-mikoto*. He succeeded his father as ruler of Idzumo and, together with *Sukuna-hiko-na-no-kami*, brought the country under cultivation, subdued those who were rebelious and taught the knowledge of medicine. Thus the influence of his virtue spread to the four quarters of the land. When *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami* was about to make her grandson ruler of this land [Japan] she sent as messengers, *Futsu-nushi-no-kami* and *Take-mika-dzuchi-no-kami* and caused them to announce that the land should be given up. *Ō-kuni-nushi-no-mikoto* reverently obeyed the Imperial Edict and retired to the palace of *Kidzuki*. This *kami* is now enshrined in the Great Shrine of Idzumo.

"*The Descent of the Imperial Grandson. Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami* thereupon gave an Imperial command to her grandson, *Ninigi-no-mikoto*, saying, 'The Luxuriant Reed-Plain Land-of-Fresh-Rice-ears [Japan] is the land over which my descendants shall reign. Do thou, Imperial Offspring, go and rule over it and the prosperity of the Imperial Succession of Heaven shall be as everlasting as Heaven and Earth.' The foundations of our Imperial rule, which shall not be moved forever, were in truth laid at this time.

"The Great Deity also conferred upon the prince (*Ninigi-no-mikoto*) the Eight-sided-Mirror, the Clustering-clouds-Sword and the Curved Jewels of Yasaka Gem. These are called the Three Sacred Treasures. At this time the Great Deity said, 'When you look into this mirror, regard it as looking on me,

myself.' From that time on the sacred treasures have been handed down by the successive generations of Emperors. They are the symbols of the Imperial Throne.

"Thereupon *Ninigi-no-mikoto*, leading the *kami*, descended upon Hyūga and dwelt in the palace of Takachiho. *Ninigi-no-mikoto* and his son, *Hiko-hoho-demi-no-mikoto*, and his grandson, *Ugaya-fuki-ahezu-no-mikoto*—three generations—made their capitals in Hyūga. The above is called the Divine Age."[1]

Chapter two is devoted to the exploits of the first traditional emperor. It opens with the statement, "*Jimmu Tennō* was the son of *Ugaya-fuki-ahezu-no-mikoto*."[2]

Numerous similar cases might be cited going to show the great importance attached to the inculcation of correct ideas regarding the royal succession, in the modern Japanese educational system. For example, the Japanese History for Higher Primary Schools," published by the Department of Education, gives the same genealogy as above with the exception that connections beyond *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami* are not emphasized.[3]

The section of the imperial genealogy as just presented in the quotation from the "Japanese History for Middle Schools," apart from the formidable character of the titles themselves, does not appear, on the face of it, to possess any features essentially different from what may be met with in any well authenticated royal genealogy, say, of European history. A Japanese student thus introduced to the matter, and unequipped with a knowledge of the method and materials of critical historical study, must naturally come to feel himself in the presence of an historical absolute—a principle of Japanese political life that "has never changed in the past, and will never change in the future, even to all eternity." It is not easy, under the circumstances,

1. *Chū Gaku Nihon Rekishi*, pp. 1-4.

2. *Ibia.*, p. 4.

3. *Kōtō Shōgaku Nihon Rekishi* (高等小學日本歷史卷一, "Japanese History for Higher Primary Schools"), Vol. 1, Appendix, p. 14.

to avoid the impression that the upbuilding in the minds of Japanese students of such confidence and conviction is the primary motive in the state pedagogy which insists on the genealogy as thus shaped up under the official imprimatur.

Certain extraordinary features of the Japanese genealogy need to be considered. These matters relate both to the nature of the great "ancestors" that head the list and to the actual historical basis on which the earliest chronology is calculated. The former subject must be considered at length, the latter may be noted in passing.

The chronology which fixes the date of the accession of Jimmu Tennō at 660 B.C. is officialized in modern Japanese law and in imperial edict alike. History text-books for public schools reckon time according to this "Japanese Era." An example of this may be found in a statement published by the Department of Education in the "Japanese History for Higher Primary Schools," which, after describing the earlier portion of the achievements of Jimmu Tennō, says, "Subsequently the Emperor made his palace at Kashiwara in Yamato and carried out the first ceremony of accession to the throne. This took place 2573 years before 1913 [i.e. 660 B.C.]. This is the first year of the era of our country. The eleventh day of the second month of each year, in which is celebrated the accession of Jimmu Tennō, corresponds with the day on which this auspicious accession ceremony was carried out."[1] The imperial decree promising the establishment of a parliament, promulgated on Oct. 12, 1881, opens with the clause, "We, sitting on the Throne which has been occupied by Our dynasty for over 2500 years. . . ."[2] This chronology thus represents official, historical orthodoxy in modern Japan. Occasional Japanese historians who have dared to criticize it in accordance with even the elementary principles of scientific historiography and in the Japanese lan-

1. *Jinjō Shogaku Nihon Rekishi* (尋常小學日本歷史卷一, "Japanese History for Ordinary Primary Schools"), Vol. 1, p. 5.

2. *Cf.* T. A. S. J., Vol. XLII, Pt. 1, p. 86.

guage, have been subjected to severe official discipline.[1] The government itself has not attempted to date the royal genealogies beyond Jimmu Tennō although the assurance with which the descent is traced from *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami* would seem to imply that more remote dates can be supplied if necessary. There are certain individual Shintoists of the present, however, who do not hesitate to enter in even where the government apparently fears to tread. Dr. G. Katō, Dr. T. Inouye and Prof. Y. Tanaka have all recently made written statements that refer to three thousand years of Japanese history.[2]

These claims, both official and private, are to be adjusted in the light of certain obvious historical facts. An official recognition of the knowledge of writing in Japan does not appear in written documents until 405 A.D.,[3] although individual Japanese were probably acquainted with Chinese ideograms fairly early in the Christian era. The existence of a knowledge of how to make calendars is first mentioned in 553 A.D.[4] The first known Japanese attempt at historical writing, the *Kujiki* (now lost), dates from 620 A.D.[5] The oldest extant historical writing, the *Kojiki*, dates from 712 A.D.[6] The *Nihongi* was completed in 720 A.D.[7] The modern Japanese government in insisting on a chronology that dates back to 660 B.C. makes use of at least one thousand years of unverifiable tradition. Shintoists who speak of an historical record "stretching across three thousand boundless years" have thereby introduced a period of oral tradition that is of greater length than the genuine historical period that can be definitely authenticated on the evidence of actual

1. *Cf.* T. A. S. J., Vol. XXXVII, (1910), p. 257; Chamberlain, B. H., Things Japanese (London, 1905, Fifth Revised Edition), p. 230, note.

2. See Katō, *Waga Kokutai to Shintō*, Preface, p. 2; Inouye, in *Yamato Shimbun*, Nov. 29, 1920, p. 1; Tanaka, *Shintō Hongi*, p. 121.

3. *Cf.* A., I, pp XI, XVII.

4. *Ibid.*, p. XVII.

5. *Ibid.*, p. XII.

6. *Cf.* C., Intro., p. 1.

7. *Cf.* A., I, p. XIII.

written documents. The "Japanese Era" was not officially established in the modern situation until December 15, 1872. A law of this date says in part, "The accession to the throne of Jimmu Tennō has been settled upon as the beginning of the (Japanese) era."[1] The great yearly festival commemorating this accession was fixed by law at the same time.[2] It was not until March 7, 1873 that the government settled upon a regular name for this festival. A law was then issued saying, "The day of the accession to the throne of Jimmu Tennō shall be called *Kigensetsu* ("Year-Origin-Festival").[3]

Such simple historical facts as have just been stated, in accordance with which the validity of the official chronology is to be estimated, are not unknown to individual Japanese writers.[4] Yet, however loyal private opinion may be to the principles of a scientific methodology, up to the present it has exerted no perceptible influence on the official situation. Governmental expediency and not historical science is in control. A better idea of what is involved here may be secured from a study of the nature of the early mythology which is thus utilized as history. We must turn therefore to the mythology and take up the investigation of the nature of the two original ancestors with which the "Japanese History for Middle Schools" begins the royal genealogies.

The "National Reader (*Kokumin Tokuhon*)" for Japanese schools, compiled under the direction of Marquis Ōkuma dis-

1. H. Z., 1872, pp. 283-4; Order of the Council of State, No 342 (Dec. 15).

2. Order of the Council of State, No. 344 (Dec. 15, 1872). The law reads, "The twenty-ninth day of the first month corresponds with the day of the accession to the throne of Jimmu Tennō, and shall be observed yearly as a festival day." A marginal annotation to this regulation in the *Hōrei Zenshō* reads, "This was corrected in 1874 to February 11 of the present calendar."

3. H. Z., 1873, p. 75; Order of the Council of State, No. 91 (March 7).

4. *Cf.* Saitō, H., *Geschichte Japans* (Berlin, 1912), pp. 4-5; Nitobe, *The Japanese Nation*, pp. 53-5; Asakawa, K., *The Early Institutional Life of Japan*, p. 23-25; Kikuchi, *Japanese Education*, p. 7. Mr. *Nakayama* Tarō, speaking before the Meiji Japan Society in 1921 assigned as one of the principal causes of the existing unsatisfactory state of the study of the most ancient Japanese records, a failure to distinguish between mythology and history. (*Meiji Seitoku Kinen Gakkai Kiyō*, 1921, p. 111).

cusses *Izanagi* and *Izanagi* under a section entitled "The Development of the Empire" and under a chapter heading designated "The Beginning of the Foundation of the State." The text speaks of these two deities as "The ancestral *kami* who in very ancient times produced the Eight Great Islands."[1] Dr. G. Katō in a recent attempt at the interpretation of these deities has emphasized culture hero elements and thereby legitimatized the effort to associate them with an ancestral line appearing in actual human society.[2] An explanation by Prof. S. Kōno similarly gives prominence to a mythology centering in hero worship (*eiyū shinwa*).[3] Popular beliefs in modern Japan make *Izanagi* and *Izanami* universal parents. The Shinri sect of Shintō teaches, "The origin of man was at the time of creation. The form of man was patterned after the body of God. The two *kami*, *Izanagi* and *Izanami*, are the parents of the human race."[4] The Taisha Sect teaches that these two deities "First trod the path of spouses and produced god-men, deigning to lay the foundation for all enterprise. Hence it was that all mankind breath and have their being. . . . . They are the first parents of the human race."[5] The canon of Shintō Hon-Kyoku teaches, "The two *kami*, *Izanagi* and *Izanami*, are the source of the construction of the land and of the propagation of living things."[6] In other sects of modern Shintō they are similarly regarded as original parents.[7] Even such a scholar as Dr. N. Ariga appar-

1 *Ōkuma*, Shigenobu, *Kokumin Tokuhon* (大隈重信, 國民讀本, "National Reader," Tokyo, 1915), p. 21.

2. *Meiji Seitoku Kinen Gakkai Kiyō*, Vol. 16 (Sept. 1921), p. 103.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 104.

4. *Fujita* Kōyō, *Shintō Kaku Kyōha no Hyōri* (藤田香陽, 神道各教派の表裏, "The Shintō Sects considered from Within and Without," Tokyo, 1919, p. 105.

5. T. A. S. J., Vol. XLI, Pt. IV (1913), p. 639.

6. *Kanzaki*, Kazusaku, *Shintō Honkyoku Kiyō* (神崎一作, 神道本局紀要, "A Memoir on Shintō Honkyoku," Tokyo, 1914), p. 8.

7. *Cf. Maki*, Makijirō, *Kurozumi Munetada Den* (牧巻次郎, 黒住宗忠傳, "Life of Kurozumi Munetada," Osaka, 1907), pp. 37 ff.; *Masumo*, Shōbei (Ed.), *Tenrikyō Kyōten Shakugi* (增野正兵衛, 天理教教典釋義, "Exposition of the Scripture of Tenri Kyō," Osaka, 1912), p. 29.

ently endorses the view that the world was created by *Izanagi* and *Izanami*.[1]

The deep hold which ideas regarding the primitive creative activity of *Izanagi* and *Izanami* have on official genealogies and on folk-lore alike can only be adequately explained by reference to social experiences correspondingly deep and comprehensive passed through by the ancient ancestors of the Japanese race. The internal criticism of the literary records in the light of the findings of comparative mythology furnishes material that leaves little doubt as to what these ancient, formative experiences were. The evidence given below attempts to show that in *Izanagi* there is preserved the memory of an ancient Japanese Sky-Father and in *Izanami*, his mate, the idea of an old Earth-Mother, and that the Japanese account of the activities of this original creative pair has affinities with similar mythologies the world over. Especially striking parallels to the Japanese mythology relating to this pair are to be found in the Polynesian form of the cosmogonic myth.

As a means of orientating the discussion it is necessary to introduce in the first place comparative material of a general nature showing the universality of ideas relating to the Sky-Father and the Earth-Mother in primitive mythologies.

Modern ethnology—the "new ethnology"—supported by the sciences of psychology, sociology, history, comparative mythology and comparative religion, is giving us new insight into the interpretation of the experiences of primitive man. We are learning among other things that great mythologies emerge from great life experiences, and that a great deity stands for something correspondingly vital in the social life of man. As the material from the various, human, cultural groups past and present is made available for comparative study it becomes increasingly apparent how strikingly parallel are human reactions under similar circumstances of external environment. The great

31. *Cf.* T. A. S. J., Vol. XXXVII (1910), Intro., p. IX, note.

myths of mankind are almost monotonously similar in their fundamental aspects. The truth of this general observation is shown specifically in the well-nigh universal myth of the marriage of Earth and Sky.

J. A. MacCulloch has said, "The expanse of Heaven and the broad earth were early regarded as personal beings, and also as husband and wife. Earth, from which so many living things sprang, being thought of as female. Their union was the source of all things in Nature, and, when the gods of departments of nature were evolved, these were regarded as their children. Generally also they are the parents of gods and men. In most cosmogonies Earth is the fruitful mother impregnated by Heaven, though in some cases the Sun or "Great Spirit" is her husband and they are universal parents."[1]

H. B. Alexander in connection with his exposition of North American mythology has written, "The personification of the Earth, as the mother of life and the giver of food, is a feature of the universal mythology of mankind. It prevails everywhere in North America, except among the Eskimo, where the conception is replaced by that of the under-sea-woman, Food Dish, and on the North-West Coast, where sea deities again are the important food givers, and the underworld woman is no more than a subterranean Titaness. In many localities the marriage of the Sky or Sun with the Earth is clearly expressed."[2]

Foucart, reasoning from the universality of the sky-god concept at the base of practically all of the cosmogonic mythology of the world, concludes that the origin of the idea of the sky-god is to be assigned to the most ancient period of the history of religious thought. The same author indicates the following fields and peoples among which the sky-god idea is found. In America: among the Toltecs, Mayas, Incas, the Indians of Brazil, the Indians of the Andes, the Caribs, in short,

1. MacCulloch, J. A., Art. "Earth," H. E. R. E., Vol. 5, p. 130.

2. Alexander, Hartley Burr, *North American Mythology* (*The Mythology of All Races*), p. 289. *Cf.* also *ibid.*, pp. 81, 273, 295.

from the natives of Tierra del Fuego on the south to the Eskimo in the north. In Asia: among the Shamanist Groups of North Asia, among the Ainu, the Chinese, and in "primitive Japanese Shintō" [evidently *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami*]. The Sky-Father "is related to the ancient Pulugu of the Andamans, to the Varuna of primitive India, and, toward the west, to the pantheons of the ancient classical East."[1] He is found also in old Chaldea, in the Semitic and the proto-Semitic mythologies. In Oceania he appears in the cosmologies of Australia, of Melanesia and Polynesia. "But nowhere does his physiognomy appear more distinctly than in Africa—whether in the pantheons of ancient Egypt or in the many savage religions of the black continent. From the great Kilima of the Bantu groups to the Negritian Mahu we recognize him as always the same under a hundred different names."[2]

The cult of the Sky-Father and Earth-Mother appears in the Rig Veda.[3] It was likewise primary in the mythology of ancient Babylon.[4] Vegetation rituals to which mythologies of the Earth-Mother were intimately related, lay back of the ceremonies of the mystery religions of the Eastern Mediterranean area.[5] Zeus, the father of gods, demi-gods and men, was originally a personification of the sky.[6] The priestess of Dodona in Epirus chanted, "Earth sends up fruits, so praise we Earth the Mother."[7] Personifications of the earth and the sky had important places in the mythologies of the ancient Romans and Teutons, and also probably of the ancient Celts.[8] The

1. Foucart, George, Art. "Sky and Sky-gods," H. E. R. E., Vol. 11, p. 581.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Hopkins, E. W., "*The History of Religions*," p. 172.
4. Jeremias, Alfred, *Allgemeine Religions-Geschichte* (1918), pp. 26 30.
5. For literature and discussion consult H. E. R. E., Vol. 9, pp. 70-83; Farnell, L. R., *Cults of Greek States*, Vol. III, pp. 289-306.
6. *Cf.* Fox, Wm. Sherwood, *Greek and Roman Mythology* (*Mythology of All Races*), p. 152; L. R. Farnell, "*Greek Religion*," H. E. R. E., Vol. 6, p. 395.
7. Harrison, Jane Ellen, "Mountain Mother," H. E. R. E., Vol. 8, p. 868.
8. *Cf.* MacCulloch, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

primitive Chinese myth of Pànku is to be understood as a personification of heaven and earth.[1] Among the Polynesians the original parents from whom came gods, men, and the islands, were the two great deities *Rangi*, the Sky-Father, and his wife, *Papa*, the Earth-Mother.[2]

To this list we may add Japan. The stories of the labors of a Sky-Father and of an Earth-Mother under the names of *Izanagi* and *Izanami* lie at the center of the ancient Japanese form of the cosmogonic myth. In elucidation of this statement we may first make comparison with the Polynesian mythology to which reference has just been made. The old Maori account says, "Men had but one pair of primitive ancestors: they sprang from the vast heaven that exists above us and from the earth which lies beneath us. According to the traditions of our race, Rangi and Papa, or Heaven and Earth, were the source from which, in the beginning, all things originated. Darkness then rested upon the heaven and upon the earth, and they still both clave together, for they had not yet been rent apart."[3]

Rangi the Sky, and *Papa*, the Earth-Mother, however, were not regarded as the oldest of the gods. The cosmogonic myth of the Maori, which Dixon says is very old, presents a conception of existence as beginning with *Kore* "Negation" and *Po*, "Darkness." Following these appears a series of similar abstractions presented in genealogical order and finally, twenty generations after the manifestation of the initial void, the great creative parents come into existence. *Rangi* takes to wife *Papa* and between them they beget the gods, and according to some accounts, men and the islands on which they lived.[4]

1. Mayer, *Chinese Manual*, p. 174. Cited in Aston, *Nihongi*, Vol. I, p. 28.

2. Grey, Sir George, *Polynesian Mythology and Ancient Traditional History of the New Zealand Race, as furnished by their Priests and Chiefs* (London, 1855), pp. 1-2.

3. Grey, *op. cit.*

4. *Cf.* Tregear, *Maori-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary*, pp. 391-2; Dixon, Roland Burrage, *Oceanic Mythology* (Boston, 1916), p. 14; Anderson, J. C., *Maori Life in Aotea*, p. 127.

The form of the Japanese cosmogonic myth is closely similar. *Izanagi* and *Izanami*, although they occupy the primary position as creative deities, are not regarded as the oldest of the gods. The Japanese account as set forth in the *Kojiki* repeats the form of the Polynesian record in that it attempts to carry speculation back to the very beginning of the universe. The first god mentioned is *Ame-no-mi-naka-nushi-no-kami*, "The Lord of the Center of Heaven." Following this *kami* appears a list of sixteen other divine beings, arranged for the most part in genealogical sequence, ending with the great creative pair, *Izanagi* and *Izanami*. These two give birth to the islands of the Japanese archipelago and likewise become the ancestors of gods and men.[1]

In the *Nihongi* account the creation myth opens with a picture of chaos in which darkness and light have not yet been separated and in which Heaven and Earth are not yet formed. Out of this chaos Heaven eventually emerges and afterwards Earth. The first definite *kami* to appear is *Kuni-toko-tachi-no-mikoto*, given in a slightly variant account as *Ama-no-toko-tachi-no-mikoto*. Seven generations after this deity, *Izanagi* and *Izanami* appear and exercise the same creative functions as in the *Kojiki* record.[2]

The introductory sentences of the *Nihongi* which have just been briefly summarized have been criticised by Japanese and foreign scholars alike as an attempt to rationalize Japanese mythology under the influence of Chinese philosophy.[3] While the fact of Chinese influence on early Japanese literature must not be lost sight of, yet it must be admitted that the problem of possible relationships is much more complicated than an exclusive reference to Chinese analogies would seem to indicate.

After this general comparison we are in a position to note

1. *Cf. C.*, pp. 15-18.

2. *Cf.* A., I, pp. 1-13.

3. *Cf.* Aston, *Shintō, the Way of the Gods*, pp. 169-170; *Meiji Seitoku Kinen Gakkai Kiyō*, Vol. 16 (Sept., 1921), pp. 116, 120.

some of the more particularized data concerning *Izanagi* and *Izanami*. As evidence that they are to be taken as Sky-Father and Earth-Mother, respectively, we may further note:

The Japanese records agree in representing *Izanagi* as having originally come down from out of Heaven. One of the *Nihongi* accounts informs us that after his creative tasks were finally accomplished he went back to Heaven and lived there "in the smaller palace of the Sun."[1] The fact that *Izanami* is also represented as having come down from Heaven may be said to be in all probability the result of an early effort to assign an adequate origin to the Earth Mother. As will be indicated below, in the later role which the mythology assigns her, she is completely identified with the earth.

In the *Kojiki* account the sun and moon deities sprang from the purified eyes of *Izanagi* as he washed in a river of Tsukushi, the sun-goddess from his left eye, the moon-god from his right eye.[2]

Polynesian mythology presents analogous details here, again. The mythology of the Cook Group relates that the father of gods and men was *Vatea* who took to wife *Papa*, the Earth-Mother. An account which Gill considers very ancient represents Vatea as possessed of two wonderful eyes, "rarely visible at the same time." "In general, whilst one, called by mortals the sun, is seen here in the upper world, the other eye, called by men the moon, shines in Aviki (the spirit world)."[3] A Maori poem speaks of the moon and sun as having been thrown up into the sky "as the chief eyes of Heaven."[4]

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1. A., I, p. 34. For "smaller palace of the Sun" the text reads 日之少宮, *hi no waka miya* (N. p. 23). Anesaki has translated this "Solar Young Palace" (*Cf.* H. E. R. E., Vol. 8, p. 38). The meaning of this apparent subordination of *Izanagi* to the Sun-goddess will be taken up later in the discussion.

2. *Cf.* C., p. 42.

3. Gill, Wm. Wyatt, *Myths and Songs from the South Pacific* (London, 1876), pp. 3-4.

4. Taylor, R., *Te Ika a Maui or New Zealand and its Inhabitants* (London, 1870 2nd ed.), p. 109.

Dixon says, "The sun and moon in the Maori myth seem generally to be regarded as Rangi's offspring who were later placed for eyes in the sky, and similar beliefs prevailed in the Society Group and in Samoa."[1]

A myth that connects the origin of the sun and moon with the eyes of *Izanagi* can mean little other than that this *kami* is to be understood as a deification of the sky, thought of as possessing two wonderful eyes.

Again, *Susa-no-wo*, the Japanese god of storm and violence, is represented as having been born from the nostrils of *Izanagi*.[2] The mythology at this point can be consistently interpreted as presenting the idea that the stormy, violent wind was the snorting breath of the Sky-Father. The *Nihongi* says that the wind-god, *Shina-tsu-hiko-no-kami* ("Prince-of-Long-Wind-*Kami*"), who drives away the morning mists is the breath of *Izanagi*.[3]

Again, the connection with the lower world which the mythology assigns to *Izanami* is such as to identify her with earth-deities of other fields. The myth relates that *Izanami* while in the midst of her creative activities, through giving birth to a deity of fire, at length went away. *Izanagi* in order to meet with her after their separation had to pass into the Land of Night beneath the earth.[4] Here *Izanami* became the Great Goddess of the Underworld. The *Kojiki* says, "So *Izanami-no-mikoto* is called the Great-Deity-of-Hades (*Yomo-tsu-ō-kami*)."[5] In the Polynesian myth *Papa*, after her separation from *Rangi*, was so closely related to the earth and the lower world as to constitute in her own person the various divisions of hell.[6] This identification of the Earth-goddess with the underworld is a widespread characteristic of primitive mythology. This double nature

1. Dixon, *op. cit.*, p. 37. *Cf.* also Tregear, *op. cit.*, p. 392; White J., Ancient History of the Maori, I, p. 7.
2. *Cf.* C., p. 43.
3. A., I, p. 22.
4. C., p. 34.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 38.
6. Tregear, *op. cit.*, p. 315.

was common to most Earth-divinities among the Greeks. MacCulloch points out that the Roman Tellus was likewise associated with the underworld.[1] The same is probably true of the Babylonian Earth-goddess Allatu, "The Lady of Hell."[2] The Earth-mother of the Iroquois was the goddess of both night and earth.[3] The meaning of this two-fold character in the case of *Izanami* will be dealt with later in the discussion.

An additional piece of evidence pointing toward the ancient Sky-Father character of *Izanagi* is to be derived from that portion of the account wherein are introduced the tears which *Izanagi* shed at separation from his wife. The Maori myth here again presents valuable material for comparison. The mythology of this people after recounting the story of the great separation already mentioned, continues, "Up to this time the vast Heaven has still ever remained separated from his spouse the Earth. Yet their mutual love still continues—the warm sighs of her loving bosom still ever rise up to him, ascending from the woody mountains and valleys, and men call these mists; and the vast Heaven, as he mourns, through the long nights his separation from his beloved, drops frequent tears upon her bosom, and men seeing these term them dew-drops"[4]

Although the meaning of the separation of the Japanese lovers appears to differ in certain important respects from that of the above, yet the Polynesian myth sheds valuable light on the incident of the weeping of *Izanagi*. After *Izanami* had retired upon giving birth to the fire-god, *Izanagi* is made to cry out, "Oh, my beloved wife! Oh, that I should have exchanged you for a single child!" The *Kojiki* then continues: "And as he crept toward her pillow and as he crept toward her feet, there was born from his tears the deity who lives at *Unewo no Konomoto* on Mount Kagu. Her name is 'Weeping-Rain-Deity' (*Naki-*

1. MacCulloch, *op. cit.*, p. 131.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Alexander, *op. cit.*, p. 295.
4. Dixon, *op. cit.*, p. 33, quoted from Grey, *Polynesian Mythology*.

same-no-kami or *Naki-sawame no kami*[1]). "In the Japanese account the tears of *Izanagi* are rain-drops, in the Maori myth the tears of *Rangi* are dew-drops; in both cases moisture from the sky is interpreted as tears of grief and longing at the separation of the ancient lovers. The conclusion, that *Izanagi* is to be interpreted as the great Sky-Father, similar to Rangi, appears to be supported by this evidence. The Sky-god nature of *Izanagi* is further suggested in the apparently meaningless statement "as he crept toward her pillow and as he crept toward her feet." What at first glance appears altogether fanciful if not ridiculous, becomes on further thought an inevitable part of the story. The myth has preserved here a fragment that is of considerable value in determining just what and who *Izanagi* and *Izanami* anciently were. We only have to imagine ourselves standing with primitive man on the prostrate form of Mother-Earth, with the weeping, rainy sky creeping down toward her "pillow" on the one horizon and down to her feet on the other—we have but to understand this to surmise that *Izanagi* and *Izanami* emerged out of fundamental and universal human experiences with the phenomena earth and sky.

Further data pointing toward the original sky-god character of *Izanagi* may be found in the nature of the sword which was girded about him and which flashes forth here and there in the mythology. The conclusion is that this sword was the lightning flash. Like Jupiter Fulminator and other sky-fathers, *Izanagi* was equipped with a striking weapon which had its origin in ancient experiences with the thunderstorm. The evidence which

1. *Cf. Santai Kojiki*, p. 18; C., p. 31. The title of this deity is written in the *Kojiki* 泣澤女神 and in the *Nihongi* 啼澤女神. The rendering of *sawame* in the sense of *same, ame*, "rain" follows a suggested reading advanced by Motoori in *Kojiki Den.* [*Cf. Dai Nihon Shimmei Jisho* (大日本神名辭書, "Dictionary of Japanese Gods," Tokyo, 1912), p. 231]. For *ame*, "rain," read *same* in compounds see *harusame*, "spring rain" and *murasame*, "sudden showers." Suggestive material for comparison with *Izanagi's* tears of separation will be found in Harrison, J. E., *Themis, A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion* (Cambridge, 1912), p. 176.

the old Japanese records furnish in this matter is fairly conclusive. According to the *Kojiki*, the name of *Izanagi's* sword was *Ame-no-wo-ha-bari*, "Heavenly-Point-Blade-Extended."[1] This sword appears as one of the *kami* with the title *Itsu-no-wo-ha-bari-no-kami*, "Majestic-Point-Blade-Extended-Deity."[2] *Itsu* or *idzu* in the title of this deity is a term used to express the awe-inspiring character or the effulgence of a *kami*. In the mere matter of the names of *Izanagi's* sword there seems to be a slight amount of evidence indicating an original formative experience in some phenomenon that was associated with the heavens (*ama*) and which, at the same, time was majestic or terrible. More direct evidence is to be found in the fact that the *Kojiki* makes this sword the father of the ancient Japanese thunder-god, *Take-mikadzuchi-no-wo-no-kami* ("Terrible-Thunder-Male-Deity").[3] The myth relates that when the matter of the pacifying of the turbulent land that later was to become the territory of Japan, was under discussion in the council of *Taka-ma-ga-hara*, it was proposed that "Majestic-Point-Blade-Extended-Deity" be sent down to accomplish this task. When consulted in the matter this deity replied, "I will obey and will respectfully serve you. Nevertheless on this errand ye should send my child, the Terrible-Thunder-Male-Deity."[4] The offspring of *Izanagi's* sword then is thunder. The inference is plain as to what the sword itself must have been in the original experience of the makers of the myth.

Further evidence pointing to a connection between thunder and *Izanagi's* sword is to be found in the *Nihongi*. In one

1. *Cf.* C., p. 34. Votive swords with blades broad toward the point in imitation of the shape of the ancient Japanese weapon are frequently found at Shintō shrines in the present. The shape of these swords suggests a remote origin in the stone age first-hatchet.

2. *Cf.* C., p. 100.

3. *Cf.* A., I, p. 68, note 3. *Mikadzuchi* is evidently the same as *ikadzuchi*, "thunder." See also Satow, "Ancient Japanese Rituals," T. A. S. J., Vol. VII, p. 415.

4. *Cf.* C., p. 100.

passage of this record we read of certain deities who dwelt in the Rock Cave of Heaven. They were the three generations of *kami*: *Mika-no-haya-hi-no-kami* ("Terrible-Swift-Fire-Deity"), who was the son of *Itsu-no-wo-bashiri-no-kami* (Majestic-Male-Running-Deity"), *Hi-no-haya-hi-no-kami* ("Swift-Fire-of-Fire-Deity"), and *Take-mikadzuchi-no-kami* ("Terrible-Thunder-Deity") who was the child of Swift-Fire-of-Fire-Deity.[1] These deities lived in the Rock Cave of Heaven; that is to say, they were generally invisible,[2] but they flashed forth as swift fire accompanied by a thunder-child. We may have little hesitation in saying that they had their origin in ancient human experiences with the thunder storm. The parentage of the thunder god, found once in *Izanagi's* sword and again in a swift fire of heaven, plainly favors the interpretation that these two are one and the same and that the Majestic-Point-Blade-Extended, worn by *Izanagi* is nothing other than the lightning flash.

Evidence for the conclusion that the sword of *Izanagi* is the lightning flash can be made yet more particular. We have only to consider the exegesis of the various deities that spring from the blood that attaches to the different parts of *Izanagi's* sword when he slays *Kagu-tsuchi*, to find unexpected confirmation of our interpretation. The pertinent section of the *Kojiki* following the account of how *Izanami* died in giving birth to *Kagu-tsuchi* reads, "Hereupon *Izanagi-no-mikoto* drew the ten-grasp sword with which he was girded and cut off the head of his child, *Kagu-tsuchi-no-kami*. The names of the deities that were then born from the blood that stuck to the point of his sword and bespattered the multitudinous rock masses were *Iwasaku-no-kami* ("Rock-Splitting-Deity"), next *Ne-saku-no-kami*

1. *Cf.* N., p. 50; A., I, p. 68.

2. The conclusion that invisibility of celestial phenomena or obscuration thereof was described by the early Japanese myth makers as an entering into the Rock Cave of Heaven is supported by the account of how when *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami*, the Sun-goddess, entered the "Rock Cave of Heaven" all the earth became dark. The original experience in this case was evidently the obscuration of the sun either in an eclipse or by rain clouds.

(" Root-Splitting-Deity "), and next *Iwa-tsutsu-no-wo-no-kami* (" Rock-Possessing-Male-Deity ").[1] The names of the deities that were next born from the blood that stuck to the upper part of his sword and again bespattered the multitudinous rock-masses were, *Mika-no-haya-hi-no-kami* (" Terrible-Swift-Fire-Deity ") next *Hi-no-haya-hi-no-kami* (" Swift-Fire-of-Fire Deity ") and *Take-mikadzuchi-no-wo-no-kami* (" Brave-Thunder-Male-Deity " or " Brave-Terrible-Hammer-Male-Deity ").[2] . . . . The names of the deities that were next born from the blood that came together on the hilt of his sword and leaked out between his fingers were *Kura-okami-no-kami* (" Dark-Rain-Deity ")[3] and *Kura-midzu-ha-no-kami* (" Dark-Water-Swift-Deity ").[4] " The parallel account in the *Nihongi* rounds out the number of deities born from *Izanagi's* sword to three sets of triplets by adding to the list the name of *Kura-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami* (" Dark-Mountain-Body-Deity ").[5]

How then shall we interpret a sword that, at its point breaks the rocks, splits the trees to the roots, and impregnates the rocks with fire,[6] that appears in its upper part as swift fire, giving birth

1. For these three *kami* see C., p. 32.

2. These three *kami*, appearing on the upper part of *Izanagi's* sword, have already been noted as those who dwelt in the Rock Cave of Heaven.

3. The title of this deity is written闇淤加美神 in the *Kojiki* and闇龗神 in the *Nihongi*. *Kura* (闇 is taken in the sense of " dark " or " black." This meaning is favoured in the *Dai Nihon Shimmei Jisho* (*Cf.* p. 137 under *Kura-okami-no-kami*). *Okami* is taken in the ordinary sense of the reading 龗, as given in the *Nihongi*, namely " the god of rain or water " (*Cf.* N, p. 14). The elements of the ideogram give the idea of a dragon god of rain (雨, " rain " and 龍, " dragon ").

4. 闇御津羽神 (*Kojiki*), 闇罔象神 (*Nihongi*). The *Dai Nihon Shimmei Jisho*, following Motoori, advances the interpretation that *midzu* (御津) here carries the idea of " water " and *ha* (羽) the sense of *sumiyaka*, " swift." (*Cf. Dai Nihon Shimmei Jisho*, p. 137). The *Nihongi* definitely states that a certain *Midzu-ha-no-me*, born from *Izanami*, was a " water deity " (水神). (*Cf.* N., p. 12). Thus, on good authority, *Kura-midzu-ha-no-kami* may be rendered " Dark-Water-Swift-Deity."

5. *Cf* A., I, p. 23, note 13.

6. The Japanese myth of the deities that appear at the point of *Izanagi's* sword reflects a widespread belief that flints, which contain the element of fire, are

to thunder—a sword that brings forth at the hilt dark, mountain-like masses that drip water? Plainly, it is the picture of a thunder storm. *Kagu-tsuchi* was killed by a mighty thunder-storm in which, when the sword of *Izanagi* flashed in the sky, swift fire broke on the rocks and trees, *Mika-dzuchi* pounded with his hammer, *Kura-okami* and *Kura-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami* were seen gathering together like the masses of great black mountains up above, and then, as the climax of the entire scene, trickling out between the fingers of *Izanagi* came *Midzu-ha*—water raining down out of the black clouds upon the earth below. We stand here in the presence of what is probably the oldest picture in Japanese literature. It is indeed a picture-poem, certainly one of the first ever produced by the remote ancestors of the Japanese race. The picture placed before us here in the *Kojiki* contains all of the elements of a terrific thunder-storm and, be it noted, nothing more. We conclude then that the sword of Izanagi is the lightning flash.

One of the *Nihongi* accounts still further connects the death of *Kagu-tsuchi* with a thunder-storm by introducing the variant: "*Izanagi-no-mikoto* drew his sword and cut *Kagu-tsuchi* into three pieces. One of these became the Thunder-god (*Ikadzuchi-no-kami*),[1] one became the Great-Mountain-Body-Deity (*Ō-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami*) and one became the Fierce-Rain-god (*Taka-okami*)."[2]

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thrown down by the thunderbolt or that sacred fire, i.e. the lightning flash, falls from heaven and enters into "rocks, trees and herbage" (*Cf.* A., I, p. 29) from whence it may be extracted by striking or rubbing. For a clear statement of the meaning of the death of *Kagu tsuchi* in relation to early ideas of the origin of fire see Revon, "Cosmogony and Cosmology (Japanese)," H. E. R. E., Vol. 4, p. 165. Revon does not connect the death of *Kagu tsuchi* with the lightning flash and the action of a Japanese sky-father, yet such a connection is strongly supported by the internal evidence of the literary records. For a statement of the early cult of rocks and stones in relation to sacred fire and the sky-god see Foucart, G., "Sky and Sky-Gods," H. E. R. E., Vol. 11, p. 583.

1. The text here leaves no room for doubt. It says plainly 雷神, thunder-god. *Cf.* N., p. 18.

2. 高龗 *Cf.* N., *op. cit.* The *Nihon Shimmei Jisho* (p. 189) suggests that *taka* should be taken in the sense of *takeki*, "fierce."

It is difficult to see how anything other than experiences with seasonal storm could have produced this mythology.

Again, when *Izanagi* flees from out of the lower world after his vain effort to possess his dead wife once more his sword is again unsheathed. This time it flashes "behind him" as he hurries on pursued by the eight deities of *thunder*.[1] The evidence here also suggests the memory of seasonal storm.

It was then a thunder-storm that killed *Kagu-tsuchi*, "Glittering-Earth."[2] He was a true child of *Izanami*—Fruitful Mother Earth—and at the same time, he was a Fire God. He was a specialized form of fire. He was that form of fire which manifested itself to the makers of the myth in their experiences with an intense summer heat. When it became time for him to be born his mother "became feverish," she "was burnt," she "suffered change and went away." The old mythology in forms that are about as plain as human words can well be made thus sets forth experiences in a climate in which vegetation withered and died away owing to the coming of a season of intense heat. It was a heat so great that it "glittered" and "shone;" a very god of fire was brought forth from the womb of Mother Earth. And then *Kagu-tsuchi* died in a mighty storm. He was killed by the sword of the Sky-Father. Yet he did not altogether die. His death was the breaking of the drought.

1. *Cf.* C., pp. 36-37.

2. The full title of this deity is 火之迦具土神 (*Hi-no-kagu-tsuchi-no-kami*, "Glittering-Earth-Deity-of-Fire"). *Tsuchi* (土) is here interpreted in the sense of the primary meaning of the ideograph, i.e. "earth." For similar renderings in the cases of other deities whose titles contain the element *tsuchi* or *tsutsu* *cf.* *Dai Nihon Shimmei Jisho*, pp. 65, 230. *Kagu* is taken in the sense of *kagayaku*, "to glitter." Alternate names of this deity indicate an original experience with objects which contain heat or fire and which also reflect heat or glitter therewith—*Hi-no-yagi-haya-wo-no-kami*, "Glittering-Swift-Male-Deity-of-Fire" or "Fire-burning-Swift-Male-Deity-of-Fire," *Hi-no-kaga-biko-no-kami*, "Glittering-Sun-child-Deity-of-Fire" or "Shining-Prince-Deity-of-Fire" and *Ho-musubi-no-kami*, "Fire-Producing-Deity." Experiences with the dry and heated objects of summer earth would naturally produce such epithets.

That *Kagu-tsuchi* did not altogether die is seen immediately in the character of the deities that came from his divided body. *Kagu-tsuchi*, who, it must be remembered, is, in the original formative experience, only an aspect of the earth, namely, earth in a fiery mood, when slain by *Izanagi*, gives birth to mountains. In this connection the *Kojiki* says, "The name of the deity that was born from the head of *Kagu tsuchi no kami* who had been slain was the Deity Possessor-of-the-True-Pass-Mountains. The name of the deity that was next born from his chest was the Deity Possessor-of-Descent-Mountains. The name of the deity that was next born from his belly was the Deity Possessor-of-the-Innermost-Mountains. The name of the deity that was next born from his private parts was the Deity Possessor-of-the-Dark-Mountains. The name of the deity that was next born from his left hand was the Deity Possessor-of-the-Densely-Wooded-Mountains. The name of the deity that was next born from his right hand was the Deity-Possessor-of-the-Outlying-Mountains. The name of the deity that was next born from his left foot was the Deity Possessor-of-the-Moorland-Mountains. The name of the deity that was next born from his right foot was the Deity Possessor-of-the-Outer-Mountains."[1]

The *Kojiki* herein sets forth a racial memory that is true to the experiences of the makers of the myth. One who has lived through the dry season of southern Asia wherein the heated earth cracks and the air becomes so thick and heavy with dust that in certain districts the sun seems to go down in the middle of the afternoon, knows that after the great storms of the south-west monsoon have killed *Kagu-tsuchi*, the air is washed clear and the mountains appear as if new-born from the body of the earth. There is no intention of attempting to maintain that the storm that killed *Kagu-tsuchi* was the south-west monsoon, yet it seems fair to conclude that somewhere in their wide journeyings the ancestors of the Japanese race passed through agricultural

1. C., p. 33.

experiences in a mountainous country that had a terrific summer heat which made it inevitable that from the slain body of *Kagu-tsuchi* should emerge mountain deities.

We may conclude, then that the episode of the withdrawal of *Izanami* to the lower world is based on the same human social experiences as are similar episodes relating the withdrawal of similar Earth-Mother deities in other fields. These ancient and fundamental human experiences are agricultural, emerging out of the effect of seasonal changes on vegetation. In a cold climate when winter comes on, earth's vegetation withers and Mother-Earth retires. In a hot climate when the heat of summer comes on, vegetation likewise languishes and withers, and the Earth-Mother grows feverish, is burnt and goes away. This interpretation is already widely accepted in fields outside of Japan. We may have little hesitation in accepting it in explanation of early Japanese mythology. The search which *Izanagi* makes for *Izanami* re-echoes the search of the Egyptian *Isis* for the body of *Osiris*.[1] The original meaning of the death of *Attis* in the Phrygian myth of *Attis* and *Cybele* was the death of vegetation in winter.[2] In the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter*, the Earth-Mother goddess, written probably in the seventh century B.C. the story is told of how Persephone, when gathering flowers in a field, was stolen and carried away to the under world. The mother saddened and languished and refused to produce grain that men might live. The earth was unfruitful. It was finally arranged that the daughter should spend eight months of each year with her mother, during which time the earth was fruitful.[3] The languishing of the Greek Earth-Mother, Demeter, corresponds exactly with the sickness and departure of the Japanese Earth-Mother, *Izanami*. The Babylonian *Ishtar*, the mother of gods and men, was an ancient Earth-Goddess.

1. *Cf.* Müller, *Egyptian Mythology* (*Mythology of All Races*, Vol XII), pp. 113 ff.
2. *Cf.* H. E. R. E., Vol. 2, p. 218.
3. *Cf.* H. E. R. E., Vol. 9, p. 78.

Her journey to the lower world in search of Tammuz was the ancient Babylonian interpretation of the death of vegetation. Vegetation died and earth's fertility ceased when *Ishtar* was in the lower world.[1]

The idea that the Japanese myth of *Izanagi* and *Izanami* was in some way connected with seasonal changes in vegetation is suggested by the fact that in the struggle between *Izanagi* and the forces of the lower world various food items—grapes, bamboo-sprouts, and peaches—appear as important factors in assisting his escape to the upper world.[2] Further connection with seasonal change arises from the evidence of the *Nihongi* that *Izanami* was anciently worshipped with a spring festival "by offerings of flowers."[3] Flower festivals to the Earth-Mother are widely distributed as, for example, "Among the aborigines of India, the Earth-Mother is worshipped mainly in connection with agricultural seasons. Sacrifices are offered, and she is begged to be propitious, while she has often a special festival, or, as among the Oraons, a spring festival celebrates her marriage with Heaven."[4] The Dravidians of South India worship a Great Mother. The customary offering is flowers.[5] E. S. Hartland says, "Every year when the *sal*-tree is in blossom the Oraons of Bengal celebrate the marriage of the earth-goddess with Dharme, the sun-god."[6] Every year when the flowers on Mount Tsukuba in Japan begin to blossom the peasants of the vicinity celebrate the *Ōzagawari* ("Great-Seat-Change") of *Izanami*, that is, her journey to her shrine on the mountain top. And

1. Regarding the point of Ishtar's relation to seasonal changes in vegetation Jeremias remarks, "Since nature dies and comes to life again (in cosmical language sinks into the Underworld and then rises again), she is the goddess who goes with dying nature into the Underworld and who brings up the new life." "Die Religion in Babylonien," *Allgemeine Religions-Geschichte*, p. 29.

2. *Cf.* C., pp. 36-7.

3. *Cf.* A., I, p. 21.

4. H. E. R. E., Vol. 5, p. 129. Ref. is to Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folklore of N. India*, Vol. I, p. 30 ff.

5. *Cf.* Hopkins, E. W. *The History of Religions*, p. 170.

6. H. E. R. E., Vol. 9, p. 823.

every year when vegetation begins to wither on the mountain she is brought down again to the shrine at the base. While it is true that *Izanagi* likewise shares in this modern *Ōzagawari*, yet the present-day, popular explanation is that it is especially designed to protect *Izanami*. The peasants of the district say in explanation, "It is not good that a woman should remain out on the mountain in the winter." It is of special interest that the movements of *Izanami* at the Tsukuba shrine should still be connected with seasonal changes. The old mythology of the south seems to have been adapted to fit a northern climate.

The Earth-Mother character of *Izanami* is likewise to be found in the nature of the deities which spring from different parts of her body after her relations as the wife of *Izanagi* have been severed. These deities appear as the independent creation of *Izanami* and thus, on the hypothesis put forward in the present discussion, ought to be closely related to the earth itself. From the vomit of *Izanami* came two deities of metal, from her excrement two other deities who preside over clay, from her urine a water deity and also a god of growth called *Waka-musubi-no-kami* ("Young Growth Deity").[1] These first named deities may be understood as originating in an early mythological scheme which regards metal, clay, and water as discharges from the body of the Earth-Mother. In the *Nihongi* account the "Young Growth Deity" just mentioned appears as the producer of the silk-worm, the mulberry tree, and the five grains.[2] "Growth" thus transforms "Earth" into these objects useful to man. The *Kojiki* relates that in the body of *Izanami* as she lay in the lower world resided eight deities of thunder.[3] We here have a mythological fragment which may be consistently interpreted as originating in primitive experiences with subterranean noises. In Teutonic mythology the thunder god *Thor*

1. *Cf.* C., p. 29.
2. *Cf.* A., I, p. 21.
3. *Cf.* C., p. 36.

has for his mother the great giantess *Jordh* who is identified as the Earth.[1]

One of the *norito* has preserved the account of *Izanami's* return to the upper world out of the Land of Night and her creation anew of certain deities that break the drought brought on by the birth of *Kagu-tsuchi*. The evidence seems practically conclusive in identifying the movements of *Izanami* with the complete cycle of seasonal changes passed through by the Earth-Mother deities of other mythologies. The *norito* which was formerly used in the "Fire-calming-ceremony" (*ho-shizume no matsuri*) presents this episode thus: "The two deities *Izanagi* and *Izanami* became husband and wife and begot the eighty countries and the eighty islands and, also, they begot the eight hundred myriads of deities. Finally, when *Izanami* gave birth to *Ho-musubi-no-kami* (Fire-Producing-Deity) her private parts were burned and she became hidden in the rocks. 'My beloved husband, look not on me for the space of seven nights and seven days', she said. Before the end of the seven days, he wondered at her concealment and looked on her, and her private parts had been burned in giving birth to Fire. Then *Izanami* said, 'Oh, my beloved husband, thou hast put me to shame by looking on me at such a time when I had said, "Look not on me." So my beloved husband, thou must rule the upper world and I will rule the lower world.' And she became hidden in the rocks. When she reached the Even Hill of Yomi she thought and said, 'In the upper world, ruled over by my beloved husband, I have given birth to and left behind a child of evil heart. So returning, she yet again gave birth to children—the Deity of Water, Gourd, River-leaves, and Clay-Mountain-Lady (*Hani-yama-hime*)—to these four kinds of things she gave birth. Then she taught *Izanagi* saying, 'Whenever the heart of this evil-hearted child becomes violent subdue it with the

1. *Cf.* H. E. R. E., Vol. 5, p. 129.

Deity of Water, with Gourd, with Clay-Mountain-Lady and with River-leaves."[1]

The introduction of the Deity of Water here as one of the agents in the subjection of *Kagu-tsuchi* reapeats the idea of the coming of water in the form of the two rain-deities, *Kura-ō-kami-no-kami* ("Dark-Rain-Deity") and *Kura-midzu-ha-no-kami* ("Dark-Water-Swift-Deity") who appeared on the sword of the Sky-Father when he killed his child.[2] The gourd is simply an ancient receptacle for storing and carrying water. "River-leaves," which the *norito* makes *Izanami* produce on her re-appearance in the upper world, strongly suggests seasonal change wherein the new vegetation first appears along the courses of streams and rivers. According to the *Nihongi, Hani-yama-hime* is an earth-goddess.[3] She is made to marry *Kagu-tsuchi*, who is also an earth deity, and the two beget between them, *Waka-musubi-no-kami*,[4] already mentioned as the producer of the five grains, the mulberry tree and the silk-worm. The *Kojiki* states that the child of this same *Waka-musubi-no-kami* was the great Food-Goddess, *Toyo-uke-bime-no-kami*.[5] The basis of this mythology is evidently seasonal change, regarded as induced by the return of the Earth-Mother. This change brings new life to the parched earth and food to the ancient husbandman. That the underlying experience is recurrent with the coming and going of seasons is also suggested by the statement of the *norito* that *Izanami's* new children are to be made use of "Whenever the heart of this evil-hearted child becomes violent."

An item of evidence of a different character is to be found in the fact that the term *papa* has survived in Polynesian langu-

1. *Ōkubo, Hatsuo, Norito Shiki Kōgi* (祝詞式講義下卷, "Lectures on the Norito Ceremonies," Osaka, 1908, 4th ed.), Vol. II, pp. 3-4. See also Aston, *Shintō*, pp. 315-316.

2. See above, p. 204.

3. *Cf.* A., I, p. 21.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Cf.* C., pp. 29-30.

ages with the meaning of "Earth-Mother"[1] while in archaic Japanese the same form, *papa*, means "mother"[2] (modern Japanese *haha*).

A most important argument for the Sky-Father and Earth-Mother characters of *Izanagi* and *Izanami* is to be found in their primary creative function with reference to the total mythological scheme of old Shintō. They are universal parents. They gave birth to the land, the living things of the vegetable world, and were the ancestors of gods and men. The *Nihongi* preserves the record of their proper position in the original mythology when it says, "They produced all manner of things whatsoever."[3] The *Kogoshūi* opens the account of the Japanese cosmogonic myth with the creative activities of this pair. They are the first *kami* introduced. The text says, "I have heard that at the creation of heaven and earth the two deities *Izanagi* and *Izanami* became man and wife. They begot the Eight Great Islands and also mountains, rivers, grasses and trees. Again, they begot the sun-goddess and the moon-god."[4] Thus it is that they occupy in the ancient Shintō pantheon exactly the positions of the Sky-Father and the Earth-Mother of other mythologies.

The interpretation of *Izanagi* and *Izanami* here adopted assigns them an importance consistent with the place which they occupy in the Shintō pantheon. For although in that portion of the mythology which clearly reflects the influence of the political organization of ancient Yamato culture the Sun-Goddess, *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami*, takes precedence over all other deities, yet in the original cosmogonic myth, itself, the activities of *Izanagi* and *Izanami* are central. The probable reasons for

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1. *Cf.* Tregear, *op. cit.*, p. 314.
2. *Cf.* T. A. S. J., Vol. 16, p. 262.
3. 然後悉生萬物焉, N., p. 13.
4. Saeki, A., *Kogoshūi Kōgi* (佐伯有義, 古語拾遺講義, "Lectures on the *Kogoshūi*," Pub. by the *Kōgaku Shoin*, 10th ed., Tokyo, 1921), p, 4.

this rise of the cult of the Sun-Goddess and the subordination of the Sky-Father and Earth-Mother will be considered later. Aston classifies *Izanagi* and *Izanami* under the heading of gods of abstraction and regards them as "evidently creations of subsequent date to the Sun-Goddess and other concrete deities, for whose existence they were intended to account."[1] *Izanagi* and his mate are assigned by this scholar "to that stage of religious progress in which the conception has been reached of powerful sentient beings separate from external nature."[2] The interpretation of origin which Aston is thus led to accept is that they were suggested to the ancient Japanese writers by the *Yin* and the *Yang*, or the male and the female principles, of Chinese philosophy.

Against Aston's view can be advanced the thoroughly concrete character of *Izanagi* and *Izanami* as indicated by the evidence given above. They are not abstractions formulated to give a theoretical account of older deities. The central position which these original parents occupy in the Japanese mythology makes it hardly possible that they could have been borrowed from Chinese philosophy without the entire cosmogonic scheme having been likewise taken over. With all the obvious Chinese influence in the *Nihongi* there is no evidence of such extensive and early borrowing from China as is made necessary by Aston's theory. *Izanagi* and *Izanami* must be taken as original Japanese deities. They are the concrete expression of primitive experiences with the phenomena of earth and sky, interpreted in terms of a social life that is still so undeveloped as to be confined almost entirely to the events of the parent-child group. This alone is proof of a great antiquity.

Similar objections are to be advanced against the interpretation which overemphasizes a phallic character for these deities.[3] The theory here builds to a large extent on etymological con-

1. *Shintō*, p. 169.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 170.
3. So Buckley, *Phallicism in Japan*, pp. 22-26.

siderations. It follows Motoori in assigning to the words *Izanagi* and *Izanami* an origin in *izanau*, "to invite," while *gi* and *mi* are taken as equivalents of "male" and "female" respectively; hence the meanings, "Male-Who-Invites" and "Female-Who-Invites," i.e., invites to sexual relations.[1] The naive detail with which the *Kojiki* enters into a description of the first creative activity of this pair lends some plausibility to the interpretation.

That phallic practices have been a part of the worship of *Izanagi* and *Izanami* is beyond question. Yet phallicism is not the key to their interpretation. On the other hand, an isolated phallic theory does not do justice to their position in the cosmogonic scheme. Phallicism, with an underlying relation to fertility rites, has a world-wide association with Earth-Mother cults.[2] For example, Priapus, the Greek phallic deity, was the son of Aphrodite, an original earth-goddess.[3] The Isis and Osiris cult of Egypt appears to have been associated with phallicism.[4] Male and female emblems with the meaning of fertility charms, appeared in the ceremonies of both the Arrephoria and the Thesmophoria.[5] Among the Yoruba on the west coast of Africa the Earth-Mother is also a phallic deity.[6] It is altogether to be expected that phallic rites should be associated especially with *Izanami* in her character as universal mother.

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1. *Cf.* C., p. 18, note 8. At the present stage of investigation, the attempt to argue from the meaning of these names to the functions of the deities is precarious. Aston prefers to take *isa* (*iza*) as a place-name; hence, "the Male of Iza" and "the Female of Iza" (*Shintō*, p. 172). A recent Japanese explanation attempts to interpret *iza* in the sense of "beginning" or "first"; hence, "the First Male" and "the First Female" (*Cf. Meiji Seitoku Kinen Gakkai Kiyō*, Vol. 16, p. 125).

2. For references consult art. "Phallism," H.E.R.E., Vol. 9.

3. *Ibia.*

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Cf.* Harrison, *Themis* p. 266, also pp. 396 ff., 451 ff. "At Syracuse, on the day of the Thesmophoria cakes of sesame and honey representing the female sex. . . . . were carried about and offered to the goddesses—probably Demeter and Kore" (H.E.R.E., Vol. 9, p. 818).

6. H.E.R.E., *op. cit.*

The foregoing discussion is offered as evidence that in *Izanagi* is preserved the memory of an ancient Japanese Sky-Father and in his mate, *Izanami*, the idea of a great Earth-Mother. *Izanagi* is a being who produces the deities of sun and moon from his eyes, the storm-god from his nostrils, whose breath is the wind, whose tears are probably rain-drops and who carries a sword which is the lightning flash. *Izanami*, his mate, is a being who has the double function of an earth-goddess of the upper world and of the lower world, whose body is associated with the things that come from out the earth such as metal, clay, water and growing crops. Her death and departure into the underworld are to be interpreted as an ancient statement of the effects of seasonal change on vegetation. The early mythology, in spite of its existing fragmentary character, still preserves the account of her return from the lower world with reviving life. *Izanagi*, also, seems to have brought new vegetation with him out of the land of Yomi and modern local ceremonial still retains the influence of the idea that *Izanami* properly goes up to the mountain top with the returning life of spring. Finally the two are universal parents. In all these points the correspondence with Sky-Fathers and Earth-Mothers of other peoples is close.

Such are the *kami* in whom modern Shintō still finds original parents for the Imperial Family and for the general populace alike. The sense in which they are to be taken as ancestors is plain. In tracing the royal line back to *Izanagi* and *Izanami* the modern genealogists have been true to pure Japanese tradition, but at the same time they have evidently builded better than they know. The line as thus established does reach back to "immemorial ages." We have, indeed, the extraordinary spectacle of a modern state supporting its political fabric with a genealogical scheme that has come straight down out of a primitivity so remote as to bear the impress of a mythology that was probably formulated as man's first attempt at a systematic world-view. The historicity of the two great ancestors who head the

royal genealogies as given in the modern "History for Middle Schools" is to be estimated exactly as we estimate the historical validity of Sky-Father and Earth-Mother myths elsewhere. The study here carries us into the field of pure mythology and not into that of history, as such.

In assigning the above value to *Izanagi* and *Izanami* we need not be led astray by the fact that the mythology so fully anthropomorphizes and domesticates them. *Izanagi* is pictured in the myth as a patriarch who marries and begets children, who wears clothes and carries a weapon with which he takes the life of a child. The legend of his final place of "concealment" on the Island of Ahaji is carefully preserved.[1] *Izanami* is a woman who dies in childbirth and who is buried at Arima of Kumano.[2] Folk lore does the same thing for similar deities elsewhere, however. Greek tradition, for example, has likewise preserved the knowledge of the places of birth and burial of the Sky-god, Zeus.[3] E. W. Hopkins has fittingly called attention to the fact that the German thunder-god, Thor, was not regarded merely as a noise in the sky but as "a heavenly man with a decent family of his own and with intimate relations with his clan on earth."[4] Such socialization of experience with nature is indeed an inevitable part of the evolution of human thought.

In connection with the early ideas of the relations of Heaven and Earth a further matter is to be noted. Japanese mythology bears clear traces of the influence of a conception that, at one time, Heaven hung close down over Earth and possibly, also, of the idea that the two were subsequently separated through the efforts of the divine beings who lived in between them. A similar idea is widespread in the Oceanic area. The extent of the geographical distribution of a notion

1. *Cf.*, A., I., p. 34.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 21.
3. *Cf.* Fox, W. S., *Greek and Roman Mythology*, pp. 154 ff.; Harrison, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-15.
4. Hopkins, E. W., *The History of Religions*, p. 8.

of the original close proximity of Heaven and Earth and their final separation, constitutes one of the remarkable features of Oceanic mythology, passing, as it does, throughout almost the entire Polynesian and Indonesian areas. The myth occurs in India, Borneo, in the Philippines, in the Celebes, in the Marshall Islands, in New Zealand and the Chatham Islands, in Samoa and the Union Group. In the account from the New Hebrides the sky originally hung so low as to be struck by a woman as she worked with mortar and pestle. In the mythology of both the Cook Group and the Society Islands the sky at first rested as far down over the earth as the leaves of plants growing on her surface.[1]

The New Zealand myth of the separation of Heaven and Earth presents noteworthy features, that, in certain respects, seem to shed light on fragments in old Japanese mythology. As summarized by Tregear from the graphic accounts of Maori chiefs and priests compiled by Sir George Grey, the outlines of the story are as follows. "Rangi (Heaven) and Papa (the Earth) lay clinging in a close embrace, so intertwined that the children they had begotten dwelt in darkness in their narrow realm. These children who afterwards became the great gods of men, resolved to rend their parents apart, and, after taking long counsel together essayed the task. One only, Tawhirimatea, the Lord of Winds and Storm, was grieved at the decision, and refused to join in the forcible divorce of Rangi and Papa. Rongo-ma-Tane, Tangaroa, Huamia-tiketike, and Tumata-uenga all attempted the 'rending apart' in vain; but the mighty Tane-ma-huta, the Lord of Forests, at length forced Rangi upwards from the breast of his wife, and let in the light of day."[2]

In a further Maori account, presenting new details, Tane is assisted by Paia, his younger brother. The story relates how, after Raki (Rangi) and Papa had spoken words of affectionate

1. Dixon, *Oceanic Mythology*, pp. 30-36, p. 322 note 93.
2. Tregear, *Maori-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary*, p. 391 ff.

farewell, "Paia uplifted Raki, and Tane placed his toko (pole) . . . . between Papa and Ragi. Paia did likewise with his toko. . . . Then Raki floated upward, and a shout of approval was uttered by those up above, who said, 'O Tu of the long face, lift up the mountain.' Such were the words shouted by the inumerable men (beings) from above in approval of the acts of Tane and Paia; but that burst of applause was mostly in recognition of Tane's having disconnected the heaven, and propped up its sides, and made them stab'e."[1]

On the Japanese side according to the *Nihongi* account, at the time in which the creative activity of *Izanagi* and *Izanami* was in operation, Heaven lay close down over Earth. They were so near together that it was possible to send both the Sun-Goddess and Moon-God up into the sky by erecting a ladder between Earth and Heaven—"At this time Heaven and Earth were still not far separated, and therefore they sent her [the Sun-Goddess] up to Heaven by the ladder of Heaven.[2] Again an arrow shot from Earth punctured Heaven and passed through into the midst of the deities dwelling therein.[3]

The *Nihongi* opens with the statement, "In ancient times, Heaven and Earth were not yet separated." Thereupon follows the passage already considered which relates how Heaven and Earth evolved out of primitive chaos, ending with the statement, "Thus Heaven was formed first and Earth was established afterwards." In immediate sequence appears a passage which literally reads, "And Divine Beings existed in between" or "And Divine Beings lived in this interior (space)",[4] a form of statement which makes at this point a close similarity between the Oceanic and the Japanese mythologies.

The question naturally arises, is the similarity any closer? Is there anything in the old Japanese records indicating an idea

1. White, *Ancient History of the Maori*, Vol. I, p. 46.
2. A., I, p. 18.
3. C., I, p. 96.
4. 然神聖在其中焉. *Cf.* N., p. 1.

that these deities dwelling between Heaven and Earth constituted the agency whereby the separation was accomplished? While it is true that in the Japanese records this theme of separation is not expressly elaborated, yet Japanese mythology does state explicitly that there was a time when Heaven and Earth were still close together, and in one passage of the *Kojiki* there appears a statement bearing on the subject of separation which looks like the outcropping of an old mythological bed-rock which was assumed as well-known popular belief at the time of the compilation of the *Kojiki*. The passage in question appears in the form of a note or commentary in the original text. It comes immediately after the account of the beginning of Heaven and Earth wherein the names of the first five Heavenly Deities of the *Kojiki* are recorded. The note then says, "The five deities in the above list are the deities who disconnected Heaven."[1] Such a translation, although involving a departure from the interpretation of the Japanese commentators, is not forced; on the other hand, it follows the plain meaning of the ideograms.[2]

It will be noted that in the Maori account given above we likewise have five deities involved in the attempt to raise up Heaven. It is not impossible that the Japanese annotator is emphasizing a numerical factor, as if it were a well-known idea that the number of deities should here total exactly five.

In this same connection the similarity between the Japanese and Polynesian myths extends to a further interesting detail. It will be recalled that in the variant Maori account given above, *Tane*, the great god who labored with the most effect in the separation of Heaven and Earth, was assisted by his younger brother, *Paia*, and that the disconnection was facilitated by the erection of poles (*toko*) between the bodies of *Rangi* and *Papa*. *Toko* throughout Polynesia has the meaning of "pole," "prop"

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1. 上件五柱者別天神. *Kojiki*, p. 1 (Ed. 井上賴文, Tokyo, 1899). Note 別, *wakaru*, "to separate," "to divide"; *wakare*, "a separation," "a parting."

2. *Cf.* C., p. 16, n. 11.

or "staff."[1] Although *Tane*, himself, does not appear to have been called a *toko*-god, that is, a 'prop'-god in Maori mythology, yet a whole series of such deities is associated with him. Their names are variously given as *Toko-mua*, *Toko-roto*, *Toko-pa*, *Toko-maunga*, *Toko-hurunuku*, *Tako-hururangi*, *Toko-ruatipua*, *Toko-kapuka*, and *Toko-tupua*.[2] On the Japanese side we have two *toko* gods listed in the ancient mythologies, namely, *Ame-no-toko-tachi-no-kami* and *Kuni-no-toko-tachi-no-kami*, or "Heavenly-*toko*-standing-deity" and "Earthly-*toko*-standing-deity. It is to be noted that the former of these two *kami* is deity number five in the list of Japanese gods who "disconnected Heaven"—to adopt the rendering already suggested. The evidence would appear to be almost complete if *toko* could be interpreted as an ancient Japanese word for "pole" or "prop." The archaic Japanese word for "pole," however, is *poko* or *hoko*.[3] The latter form has survived in the modern language with the meaning of "spear." Further study may yet show that in the ancient Japanese language the word which we now call "*hoko*" was pronounced *toko*. At the present stage of information on the point, however, it is necessary to take *toko* in the sense of "eternal" or "eternally." Thus we have "Heavenly-eternally-standing deity" and "Earthly-eternally-standing-deity" as the titles of these two Japanese *toko* gods. Even thus the idea of "eternally standing" as applied

1. *Toko*, "pole" (Maori); "canoe pole" (Tonga, Futuna); "prop" (Niuē; "raft-pole" (Mangareva); *toko-toko*, "pole" (Mukuoro); "staff" (Futuna, Niuē, Uvea); "stick" (Marque-as). *Cf.* Churchill, *Polynesian Wanderings*, p. 420.

2. Tregear, *op. cit.*, p. 528, 529.

3. The sacred pole or pillar under the name of *Ama-no-saka-hoko*, "Heavenly-Hill-Pillar" or "Heavenly Hill Pole," is found among the ceremonial objects of ancient Shintō. The *Harima Fūdoki* relates that when Jingō Kōgō set out for the conquest of Korea, the ship on which she traveled was equipped with sacred pillars called *Ama-no-saka-hoko*, set up forward and aft. As a result the expedition went in safety across the sea and Shiragi was punished. On return to Japan the *hoko* were set up and worshipped as pole gods. *Harima Fūdoki*, ed. by *Konakamura* Kiyomori, 1863. One of these pillar gods still stands at Takachiho in Hyūga.

to a prop-god who must ever remain in place lest Heaven fall back upon Earth is not altogether inappropriate. If it is legitimate to assume here a background of primitive mythology common to both the Japanese and the Polynesian areas, then certainly the interpretation of *Ame-no-toko-tachi-no-kami* as one of the important agents in the separation of Heaven and Earth introduces intelligible content into the title of this particular Japanese deity. Is *Ame-no-toko-tachi-no-kami* to be equated with the great Polynesian deity *Tane* or with deities directly associated with him? The evidence may not be strong enough to bear the weight of such a conclusion, yet some of the similarities appear close. *Tane-ma-huta* was the Lord of Forests, the father of all things that inhabit them or that are made from trees.[1] He also appears as the male principle of generation. The Japanese word for male is *otoko* (archaic form, *wo-toko*). One naturally asks, is not the part which the mythology assigns *Tane* in the separation of Heaven and Earth an expression of the ancient idea that the sky once rested on the trees and that they thus constituted the props that separated Heaven and Earth? On the Japanese side the mythology is too fragmentary at this point to make an exact determination. Yet the title *Toko-tachi-no-kami*, interpreted as in the preceding discussion, is not unfitting when applied to trees. The *Nihongi* states that *Ame-no-toko-tachi-no-mikoto* was created by the transformation of a thing that appeared between Heaven and Earth, in form like a reed shoot.[2] The origin of this deity is here explicitly connected with vegetation. Likewise, *Kuni-no-toko-tachi-no-kami* is an ancient Japanese god of growth.

Whatever the correct explanation of these deities may be, it is especially important to note their positions in the genealogical tables. On the Japanese side a *Toko-tachi-no-kami* heads the *Nihongi* genealogies (*Kuni-no-toko-tachi* in Sect. I and *Ama-no-toko-tachi* in Sect. III). On the Polynesian side *Tane* under

1. Grey, *op. cit.*, p. 2.
2. *Cf.* A., I, p. 3.

the name of *Kane* is the greatest of the deities of Hawaii. The same god occupies seventh place in the royal genealogies of the Maori (Ngati-Maniapoto tribe)[1] and third place in the genealogies of the Moriori.[2]

We turn next to the consideration of certain other personages of the ancient Shintō pantheon who figure prominently in the modern official cult.

1. Tregear, *op. cit.*, p. 667.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 669.

CHAPTER VII.

The Cult of the Sun-Goddess.

The reestablishment in the modern period of a form of government which supersedes the particularism of the feudal regime with a state organization that goes back for many of its ideals and methods to the Great Reform of 645 A.D.[1] and which, thereby, attempts to find its political and emotional foci in the institution of imperial sovereignty, has been accompanied by a corresponding revival of the ancient cult of the Sun-Goddess, *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami*. She is officially interpreted as the Great Ancestor of the Imperial Line and as the original organizing mind that gave rise to the foundation of the Japanese state. Thus she is accorded a central position not only in the ceremonial life of the Shintō shrines, but also in the moral instruction of the government schools of modern Japan.

While it is true that *Izanagi* and *Izanami* are recognized as original parents of the race, yet it is in the Sun-Goddess and her Imperial Descendants that modern political Shintō seeks to find the clearest definition of its interests and the explanation of its origins. Professor Kōno's definition of Shintō as a system that has developed on the foundation of the idea of reverence from a center in the Great Deity, *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami*,[2] is merely a reflection of the contemporary teaching of the Japanese government. This fact is well seen in the insistence with

1. *Cf.* Murdoch, James, *A History of Japan*, Vol. I, pp. 142-180; Asakawa, K., *The Early Institutional Life of Japan*, pp. 136-333.

2. See above, p. 84. Note also the following, "This Sun Goddess, now worshipped at the shrine of Ise, is the center of the Shintō system and the chief object of worship, both as the life-giving principle of the world, the source of light and happiness, and as the Divine Ancestor of the Imperial Family, which is the Grand Patriarchal Family of the whole nation." Katō, N., "Eastern Ideals and the Japanese Spirit," T. J. S. L., Vol. XIII (1914-15), Pt. I, p. 123.

which the government itself propagates the idea that *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami* is an actual historical ancestor of the royal line. The acceptance of such teaching regarding this deity is hereby made a fundamental part of the development of the sentiments of loyalty and patriotism. The connection thus established between the doctrines of divine imperial sovereignty and of patriotism on the one hand and the cult of *Ama terasu-ō-mi-kami* on the other is far too intimate to permit us to believe that the government intends that its promulgations regarding the Sun-Goddess are to be taken as founded on anything other than authentic history.

We may turn first then to the consideration of the position which *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami* is assigned in the nationalistic moral training of the modern Japanese educational system. Although attention has already been called to the great importance that is officially attached to the inculcation of correct ideas regarding the place of this deity in the Imperial genealogies, yet the vital relationship which the matter has to Japanese political philosophy, especially as it functions in the public schools, necessitates that this be given detailed consideration.

The statement translated immediately below is taken from Book I of a series of "Teacher's Manuals" that accompany the text-books on Japanese history published by the Department of Education. In these helps for teachers the lessons of the text-books used by the children are taken up in order and detailed official direction is given the teachers regarding the object and meaning of each lesson, as well as methods of instruction to be utilized in fixing the important ideas in the memories of the pupils. No better material exists for the study of the inner working of the Japanese official mind as it attempts to carry out "the unification of the thinking of the people."

In exposition of the meaning of a text-book lesson on *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami*, the Teacher's Guide in national history says, "*Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami* is the distant August Ancestor of our Emperor. The exceeding loftiness and universality of her

majesty and virtue are like the shining of the sun in heaven, which illuminates the world so that thereby all things accomplish their growth. All people alike are bathed in her favors. The successive generations of Emperors are all her offspring. The august lineage of the Great Deity, in an unbroken line, is as everlasting as heaven and earth. The Grand Imperial Shrine (*Kōdai Jingū*) of the city of Uji Yamada in the country of Ise is the shrine where this Great Deity is worshipped. The shrine sanctuary is simple, yet no other can be compared with it in dignity.

"Our Empire of Great Japan is the country over which, in the beginning, *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami* caused her grandson, *Ninigi-no-mikoto*, to rule. The Great Deity determined that this country should be ruled over eternally by her descendants, saying, 'The prosperity of the Imperial Throne shall be as everlasting as heaven and earth.' The Imperial Dynasty, as eternal as heaven and earth, was herein determined and the foundations of our Empire of Great Japan which is peerless throughout the world, were as a matter of fact established herewith. Accordingly the successive generations of Emperors have all ruled over the empire in conformity with the purport of the Divine Edict. They have spread abroad benevolent government and have not ceased to plan for the happiness of the people. For this reason the Imperial Rescript on Education makes the declaration, 'Our Imperial Ancestors have founded Our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue.'

"When *Ninigi-no-mikoto* was about to leave the presence of *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami* and come down into this country, she purposely bestowed on him a sword, a mirror and (certain) jewels. These are called the Three Sacred Treasures. When *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami* presented the mirror to the Prince she said, 'When you look into this mirror, regard it as looking on me, myself.' From that time on the successive generations of Emperors have handed on the Sacred Treasures and have made

them the symbols of the Imperial Throne. Afterwards, out of a fear lest the divine influence of the Sacred Treasures should be defiled, a shrine was especially built for them and they were reverently worshipped by the Emperors. Then reproductions were made of the mirror and the sword and these (reproductions) together with the jewels were enshrined in the Imperial Palace and the Emperors have served them just as if they were in the presence of the Great Deity.

"*Ninigi-no-mikoto*, in conformity with the Divine Edict of the Great Deity, descended upon Hyūga in order that he might rule over this country, bringing with him the Three Sacred Treasures. This is called the descent of the Heavenly Grandson (*Tenson no kōrin*). Thereupon three generations resided in Hyūga, and then we come to the age of Emperor Jimmu. The Imperial influence has spread widely since the age of Emperor Jimmu, and the condition of the country has greatly improved. From this time on we have what is called the Age of Human Emperors, which is thus distinguished from the previous age."[1]

Directions to teachers following immediately upon the above exposition of the meaning of the text, present the point of view of the Department of Education regarding the objects which the instruction should here endeavour to attain. The official statement says, "It is required that by means of this lesson the august, divine influence of *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami* be extolled, the descent of our Imperial Family made clear and the source of our national organization (*kokutai*), which is without peer in all the world, made known."[2]

The instructions to teachers further stipulate: "The teacher should carefully explain this national constitution which is peerless in all the world and should deepen in the children

1. *Jinjō Shōgaku Nihon Rekishi, Kyōshi Yō* (尋常小學日本歷史, 教師用, "Japanese History for Ordinary Primary Schools, Teacher's Guide," Tokyo, 1912), No. 1, pp. 1-3.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

the ideas of reverence for the Imperial Family and of love of country."[1]

Similar evidence is abundantly furnished in the publications of the Department of Education. In this, the matter before us for special attention is the extent to which the modern Japanese government makes use of a mythology centering in the Sun-Goddess of Shintō as a means of furnishing support for the existing organization of the state.

Book V of "Text-books of Ethics for Ordinary Primary Schools," also published by the Department of Education says, "In ancient times *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami* sent down *Ninigi-no-mikoto* and caused him to rule over this country. The great-grandchild of this Prince was the Emperor Jimmu. More than 2570 years have elapsed since the accession to the throne of this Emperor.[2] His descendants throughout successive generations have ascended the throne. There are many countries in the world, but there is no other which, like our Empire of Great Japan, has over it a line of Emperors of one and the same dynasty throughout the ages. Moreover, the successive generations of Emperors have loved Their subjects as children, and our ancestors all revered the Imperial Family and fulfilled the principles (*michi*) of loyalty and patriotism.[3] We, who are born in such a precious country, who have over us such an august Imperial Family, who, again, are the descendants of subjects who have bequeathed such beautiful customs, must become splendid Japanese and do our utmost for our Empire."[4]

The official explanation of the above, as given in the corresponding Teacher's Manual, adds nothing to the meaning but seeks to drive home the obvious moral by saying in con-

1. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

2. Published in 1913.

3. As a means of checking this statement consult references given above, p. 120, n. 1.

4. *Jinjō Shōgaku Shūshin Sho* (尋常小學修身書, "Text-book of Ethics for Ordinary Primary Schools," Tokyo, 1913), No. V, pp. 1-2.

clusion, "There are many countries in the world, but there is not a single other which like ours has over it a line of Emperors unbroken for ages eternal. Is it not a great blessing that we are born in such an exalted country?"[1] In connection with this same lesson, directions for teachers further say, "The object of this lesson is to make known the national constitution (*kokutai*) of the Empire of Great Japan and (thus) stimulate the spirit of loyalty and patriotism."[2]

The government goes still farther in supervising the details of instruction by providing for the teacher's use practice questions based on the text. The first three questions relating to the lesson just examined may be translated:

"1. What did *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami* say when she sent down *Ninigi-no-mikoto*?

"2. What deeds did the Emperor Jimmu perform?

"3. In what does the Empire of Great Japan differ from other countries?"[3]

The expected answers to these questions do not need to be pointed out.

Such fostering of national morality in the public schools is even more directly identified with the ceremonial of official Shintō by means of instruction that carefully focuses attention and interest in the Grand Imperial Shrine of Ise, where the Sun-Goddess, "the Ancestor of the reigning Emperor," is worshipped. Book VI of the "Text-books of Ethics for Ordinary Primary Schools" contains a lesson which says, "The Grand Imperial Shrine (*Kōdai Jingū*) is the shrine where the Imperial Ancestor, *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami*, is reverently worshipped. It is located in the city of Uji Yamada. The shrine grounds are situated at the foot of Mount Kamiji on land which follows along the Isuzu River in a spot that is quiet and far-separated from (city) dust. Among the people who enter here there is not one

1. *Jinjō Shōgaku Shūshin Sho, Kyōshi Yō*, No. V, p. 2.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 1.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

who, unmindful of the majesty of the divine influence, fails to assume an attitude of reverence.

"The adoration given the Grand Imperial Shrine by the Imperial Court is of an extraordinary nature. Whenever there is an affair of great importance either in the Imperial Household or in the nation the Emperor makes personal announcement thereof at the Grand Imperial Shrine. Each year at the Ceremony of Commencing Governmental Transactions, the first thing done is to receive a report of the affairs of the Shrine. At the Festival of Prayer for the Year's Crops (*Kinen Sai*), at the Festival of Presentation of First Fruits (*Kanname Sai*) and at the Harvest Festival (*Niiname Sai*), the Emperor sends an Imperial messenger (to the Grand Shrine) and presents offerings (*heihaku*). At the time of dispatching the Imperial messenger the Emperor personally views the offerings and hands a ritualistic report (*saibun*) to the messenger. Also, the Emperor does not withdraw to the inner palace prior to the retirement of the Imperial messenger.[1] Again, on the day of the Festival of Presentation of First Fruits a solemn ceremony of distant worship (toward the Grand Shrine of Ise) is carried out by the Emperor.

"In accordance with a regulation that the sanctuary of the shrine shall be reconstructed every twenty years, the Emperor performs a solemn ceremony of 'Shrine-Removal-and-Renovation.' The Emperor Meiji took a deep interest in the affairs of the removal of the shrine, wrote minutely regarding matters of construction and personally inspected the details. The unparalleled majesty of the Grand Imperial Shrine may be known from the fact that it is thus regarded with deep reverence at the Royal Court. We subjects must always venerate the Grand Imperial Shrine and take care to maintain the Imperial Destiny which is as everlasting as heaven and earth."[2]

1. Thus reversing ordinary court procedure and thereby showing special respect to the Sun-Goddess.

2. *Jinjō Shōgaku Shūshin Sho* (Tokyo, 1913), No. VI, pp. 1-3.

The instructions to teachers inform us that the object of the above lesson is to deepen the sentiment of reverence for Imperial Ancestors by imparting information regarding the greatness of the veneration with which the Grand Imperial Shrine is regarded at the royal court.[1]

The educational authorities recognize the fact that this veneration on the part of the Imperial Family amounts to worship which includes prayer to the Sun Goddess for aid and protection. In an effort to prove the proposition of an extraordinary position in the ceremonies of the royal court the Teacher's Manual cites the following poem written by the late Emperor Meiji :

> "*Tokoshie ni tami yasukarè to inoru naru,*
> *Waga yo wo mamore, Ise no Ōkami.*[2]

The meaning may be rendered :

> "I pray that Thou wilt keep the people in peace forever
> And guard my reign, Oh, Thou Great Deity of Ise."

The text here furnishes the teacher with a statement addressed to the children which says, "You have already learned that the Emperor thus prayed for the aid of the divine spirits of the Imperial Ancestors."[3]

Book III in the same series of text-books on ethics publishes a picture representing the approach to the Grand Shrine of Ise and in explanation says, "Here in the midst of luxuriant and aged cryptomeria trees is seen a venerable shrine. This picture shows the appearance of the Grand Imperial Shrine of Ise. This is the shrine where *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami*, the Ancestor of the Emperor is worshipped (*matsuru*). Even the Emperor habitually regards it with care. We Japanese must revere this shrine (*kono ōmiya wo uyamawanakereba narimasen*)."[4]

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1. *Jinjō Shōgaku Shūshin Sho, Kyōshi Yō* (Tokyo, 1913), p. 1.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
3. *Ibid. Cf.* also *Jinjō Shōgaku Tokuhon*, No. VIII (Tokyo, 1915), p. 7.
4. *Jinjō Shōgaku Shūshin Sho*, No. III (Tokyo, 1919), pp. 28-9.

The Teacher's Manual again emphasizes the moral by saying, "The object of this lesson is to nourish the spirit of loyalty and patriotism by imparting information regarding the Grand Imperial Shrine."[1] The teacher is further furnished with an official exhortation addressed to the children thus: "In as much as *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami* is the Ancestor of the Emperor she is the most venerated deity in our land of Japan. And since the Grand Imperial Shrine is the sanctuary where this Great Deity is worshipped, those who are Japanese must both respect the Emperor and must always revere and honor this shrine. You children should also await a suitable opportunity for going to worship (*sanpai*) at the Grand Imperial Shrine and in addition to gaining an understanding of the nobility of the national constitution should pray for the prosperity of the Imperial Family (*kōshitsu no onsakae wo inori tatematsuru beki nari*)."[2]

Further directions to teachers say, "In connection with this lesson instruction should be given in the matter of reverence for shrines."[3]

The ideal of a pilgrimage to Ise is again held before the children in a passage to be found in one of the ordinary school readers, which says, "The veneration which successive generations of Emperors have manifested toward the Grand Imperial Shrine is exceedingly great. The people have also deeply venerated the shrine and there is no one who does not purpose, without fail, to go and worship at Ise at least once in a life time."[4]

In one of the school readers for Korean children, prepared under the direction of the Japanese Government for Korea, there is likewise an account of the Grand Shrine of the Sun-Goddess which makes explanation of a picture of the

1. *Jinjō Shōgaku Shūshin Sho, Kyōshi Yō*, No. III (Tokyo, 1918), p. 54.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 55.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 56.
4. *Jinjō Shōgaku Tokuhon*, No. VIII (Tokyo, 1915), p. 1.

shrine with the words, "Here is a great *torii*. To the rear of the *torii* is a shrine. Around about it great trees grow luxuriantly so as even to shut off the view of the sky. This is the Grand Imperial Shrine of Ise, the venerable shrine where *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami* is worshipped.

"*Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami* is the distant Ancestor of the Emperor and in very ancient times conferred deep blessings on the people. She taught the people how to plant rice and how to rear silkworms.

"On the seventeenth of each October, at the Festival of Presentation of First Fruits, the Emperor offers the first ears of rice of the year at the Grand Imperial Shrine. Also, on the twenty-third of each November at the Harvest Festival the Emperor worships the Grand Imperial Shrine and other deities and partakes of the first ears of rice of the year [late crop]."[1]

In the directions for study that follow this lesson, question number two says, "What kind of a person was *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami?* Tell about this."[2]

"Text-book of Ethics for Ordinary Primary Schools," Book III, says in its conclusion, "To be a good Japanese one must constantly look up to the virtues of the Emperor and the Empress and, also, must constantly revere the Grand Imperial Shrine and (thus) stimulate a heart of loyalty and patriotism."[3] Book IV in this same series says, "We must be ever mindful of the depth of favor which we receive from the Emperor, we must nourish hearts of patriotism and loyalty, must revere the Imperial Family, must respect the law, must cherish the national flag, and must understand the reason for the (observation of the) festival days."[4]

The extent to which these festival days are associated

1. *Futsu Gakkō Koku¸o Tokuhon* (普通學校國語讀本, "Japanese Reader for Ordinary Schools," Pub. by the Government of Korea, 1913), pp. 26-29.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 29.
3. *Jinjō Shōgaku Shūshin Sho*, No. III, p. 52.
4. *Jinjō Shōgaku Shūshin Sho*, No. IV, p. 66.

with ceremonies conducted at the Grand Shrine of *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami* and elsewhere may be seen in the official explanation as given in the text-book just quoted. The statement says, "The fête days of our country are: New Year's Season (*Shinnen*), the Anniversary of the Accession of the Emperor Jimmu (*Kigen Setsu*), the Emperor's Birthday (*Tenchō Setsu*), and the Imperial Birthday Celebration Day (*Tenchō Setsu Shikujitsu*). The New Year is celebrated on January 1, 2 and 5, the Anniversary of the Accession of the Emperor Jimmu on February 11, the Emperor's Birthday on August 31 and the Imperial Birthday Celebration Day on October 31. All are auspicious days.

"The great festival days are: the Festival of Sacrifice to the Origin (*Genshi Sai*), the Festival of the Vernal Equinox (*Shunki Kōrei Sai*, lit. "Spring-season-Imperial-Spirit-Festival"), the Anniversary of (the death of) the Emperor Jimmu (*Jimmu Tennō Sai*), the Anniversary of (the death of) the Emperor Meiji (*Meiji Tennō Sai*), the Festival of the Autumnal Equinox (*Shūki Kōrei Sai*, lit. "Autumn-season-Imperial-Spirit-Festival"), the Festival of Presentation of First Fruits (*Kanname Sai*) and the Harvest Festival (*Niiname Sai*).

"The Festival of Sacrifice to the Origin is on January 3 and (at this time) services are held at the Imperial Court in the *Kashiko-dokoro*,[1] in the *Kōreiden*[2] and in the *Shinden*.[3] The Anniversary of (the death of) the Emperor Jimmu is on April 3, while the Anniversary of (the death of) the Emperor Meiji is on July 30. The Festival of Presentation of First Fruits is celebrated on October 17. On this day the first ears of rice are offered at the Ise Shrine. The Harvest Festival is celebrated on November 23. On this day the first ears of rice

1. The shrine in the Imperial Palace where the sacred mirror is kept and where *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami* is worshipped.

2. The shrine in the Imperial Palace where the spirits of past Emperors, Empresses and Princes are worshipped.

3. The shrine in the Imperial Palace where the Deities of Heaven and Earth are worshipped.

(of the late crop) are offered to the gods at the *Shinkaden*.[1] Also at the vernal equinox and at the autumnal equinox the spirits of successive generations of Imperial Ancestors are worshipped. These two festivals are the *Shunki Kōrei Sai* and the *Shūki Kōrei Sai*.

"The fête days and the festival days are important occasions. In the Imperial Court the Emperor, himself, officiates in solemn ceremonies. We must thoroughly comprehend the reason for these days and (thus) nourish the spirit of loyalty and patriotism."[2]

In summation of the evidence as given thus far in the present chapter it may be noted that the Japanese government in carrying out a nationalistic program for fostering the sentiments of loyalty and patriotism in the public schools of the empire gives central importance to the following teachings, that *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami* is the distant ancestor of the reigning Emperor; that in a remote period of Japanese history she appeared in human society as a person of unusually lofty character who conferred great blessings on the people; that the beginning of the Japanese state, founded eternally on the principle of imperial sovereignty, is to be carried back to her express command; that her shrine at Ise should be an object of special reverence; that pilgrimage to the Ise shrine should be encouraged; that reverence for the shrine should include the elements of worship and prayer, especially prayer for the prosperity of the Imperial Family; that this worship should find its great example in that which is offered to the Sun-Goddess by the Royal Court, itself; that the spirit of loyalty and patriotism should be nourished by the observation of the festival days of Shintō; and, finally, that in the form of its national life Japan is the greatest country in the world.

1. The sanctuary in the Imperial Palace where the *Niiname Sai* is carried out. A plan showing the location of these shrines will be found in *Jinjō Shōgaku Shūshin Sho, Kyōshi Yō*, No. III, p. 60.

2. *Jinjō Shōgaku Shūshin Sho*, No. IV, pp. 55-58.

We have before us the evidence of officially inspired Shintō propaganda in the public schools of Japan. In its scope it is as extensive as the school system of the entire empire. In its content it makes use of the elements of the ceremonials of the shrines and of prayer to the "spirits of ancestors" regarded as supernatural beings. The officially acknowledged motive in all this is the inculcation of such sentiments in the minds of the young as will effect the stabilization of the *status quo* in Japanese political life. In this process of strengthening the existing order, the material of the old Shintō mythology, especially that part relating to *Amaterasu-ō-mi-kami*, is utilized in such a way as to give support to the affirmation that the present organization of the Japanese state is the manifestation of a fundamental and unchanging historical principle. In other words, the official position may be taken to mean that historical investigation of the Japanese state cannot be carried back beyond a time when this fundamental principle was not in operation. Not only so, but an attempt is made to support this program of establishing an historical absolute, by building on the foundation of the strongest religious beliefs to which the Japanese children are officially introduced. The greatest power in the spiritual world which the government text-books on ethics open before the minds of the Japanese children is *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami*, "the August Ancestor of the Emperor." The foundations of the existing order in the state were laid by no other agency than that of this central spiritual power. The Japanese government is very plainly seeking to surround a doctrine of political absolutism with the final sanctions of religious belief. It hardly needs to be pointed out that a form of instruction which thus identifies certain of the most vital interests of the modern bureaucratic state with an ancient Shintō mythology, reveals more concerning the methods and motives of contemporary official pedagogy in Japan than it does regarding the verifiable historical basis of the teaching itself.

Private interpretations which reecho or amplify the official statements just examined are numerous. Ōkuma's "National Reader" (*Kokumin Tokuhon*), which, though not a publication of the Department of Education of the government, itself, is nevertheless intended as an instrument of public instruction, says: "The various countries of the world have repeatedly passed through revolutions wherein the royal dynasties have been changed. The Empire of Great Japan alone is an exception. The national foundation established by the Heavenly Ancestors is strong for ages and the Sovereign continues the line of the Sun-Goddess. The nation preserves the system of the Divine Ages. The relations of ruler and subject were established by nature and have never changed."[1]

The extent to which the official interpretation here extends a directive influence over the public utterances of individuals may be inferred from the caution with which a scholar of the rank of Dr. N. Hozumi handles the subject even when not writing primarily for Japanese readers. In discussing Japanese ancestralism in the three-fold form of the worship of Imperial Ancestors, of clan ancestors and of family ancestors, Dr. Hozumi says, "The first of the three kinds of Ancestor-worship, namely, homage to the Imperial Ancestor, Ama-terasu Ō-Mikami, or 'The Great Goddess of the Celestial Light,' may be styled the national worship."[2] In the preface to the third and revised edition of *Ancestor Worship and Japanese Law* from which this quotation is taken, Dr. Hozumi calls attention to the fact that he has been criticized for the above statement, making *Amaterasu-ō-mi-kami* the "First Imperial Ancestor." He does not hazard any attempt to meet this specific criticism but turns his defence into an effort toward the vindication of ancestor- worship in general.[3] No revision is made of the text

1. Ōkuma, S., *Kokumin Tokuhon*, p. 3.

2. Hozumi, N., *Ancestor-Worship and Japanese Law* (Tokyo, 1913, p. 34.

3. *Cf. ibid.*, Preface, pp. VI-XIV.

relating to the position of the Sun-Goddess in the royal genealogy.

One of the latest books of Dr. S. Uesugi is especially noteworthy for the manner in which it attempts to support a theory of Imperial Absolutism by a similar use of the materials of the mythology centering in *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami*. Regarding the matter under discussion this author says :—

"Our national organization consists in Imperial Absolutism. The Empire of Japan is ruled over by an Emperor of a line unbroken from ages eternal. Our national organization is pure, absolute monarchy. The Divine Ancestor, *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami*, sent her Imperial Grandson, *Ninigi-no-mikoto*, down into this country, and her descendants have acceded in succession to the Imperial Throne, as eternal as Heaven and Earth. She established the rule of the mighty Emperors over *Ashihara-no-chii-ho-aki-no-mizu-ho-no-kuni*, and herein was determined their authority over the Empire. The Eight Great Islands were made the territory of Japan, ruler and subject were united in one body and thus the Empire of Great Japan was built up. The absolute authority of the Emperor constitutes the basis of our national system. It is the foundation on which the nation stands. If there were no Emperor there would be no nation. Without him there would be no subjects and our territory would cease to exist.

"The Emperor continues the Imperial Succession of Heaven and rules over the four seas as the incarnation of the spirit of the Divine Ancestor. In him the Divine Ancestor, as though now living, reigns over the Eight Great Islands. The Emperor is Heavenly Deity (*Amatsu Kami*). He is God of Light (*Hi no Kami*); he is Manifest God (*Ara-hito-gami*). His heart is the heart of the Divine Ancestor and he continues her work. He is the Mighty Ruler of Great Japan. All things subsist altogether in the Emperor. Authority is vested in a single person. It is not to be tolerated that the Emperor should be divided from his authority or that any one should

place a limit thereunto. His authority is unique. He is the absolute ruler determined by the Divine Ancestor."[1]

A recent publication of the Shintō College in Tokyo (*Koku Gakuin Dai Gaku*) furnishes some indication of the important position which doctrines relating to *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami* occupy in the instruction imparted to candidates for the modern Shintō priesthood. This book which was issued from the press in April, 1921, bears the title, *Kokutai Kōwa* ("Lectures on the National Constitution") and is devoted to an exposition of the nature of Japanese national life as centered in Imperial Absolutism. It especially emphasizes the greatness, uniqueness and superiority of the Japanese state organization over against all the other governments of the world. At the center of the argument lies the following statement:—

"National constitution (*kokutai*) is the essential nature of the state. All variation in essential nature signifies variation in the value of the thing itself. It may be said, therefore, that variation in the national constitution means differences in the value of the state. The number of countries on earth is, of course, great, and among them so-called monarchies are by no means limited to a few, yet is it possible to find among them any in which the existing organization of the state is genuinely monarchical? In our opinion none can be found apart from our Empire. Whether regarded from the standpoint of the principle of the establishment of the state or from that of its expression in history, the one country possessing a true monarchical organization, which has reality as well as name, is, in truth, our Empire of Great Japan. Indeed, there is none apart from our country. Our national constitution—unique, peerless, matchless in all the world—in truth possesses a value that is beyond comparison. What shall we say then regarding this national constitution?

"It goes without saying that the reason why our national constitution, in comparison with those of other countries of the

1. Uesugi, S., *Kokutai Seikwa no Hatsuyō*, pp. 9-10.

world, is special and unique and, further, preeminent above all other countries in a commanding way, is because the rights of sovereignty in the state are wholly vested in the Emperor. Not only is the Emperor absolute and complete sovereign, but also the Imperial Throne, from the very foundation of the state, has been occupied throughout successive generations by the offspring of the Heavenly Ancestor [*Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami*]. The Imperial Throne, which is the substance of sovereignty, descends in a single line as unchanging and everlasting as heaven and earth. The majesty of the Imperial Throne and the Imperial descent in a single line, in other words, the fact that the relations of the Imperial House and the state have been consistent from the beginning—this is the fundamental system on which our state is established, and compared with the facts of world history and judged in the light of the actual conditions in the world to-day, it is, most emphatically, without peer on earth.

"'The Empire of Japan shall be reigned over and governed by a line of Emperors unbroken for ages eternal.' In 1889, on the Anniversary of the Accession of the Emperor Jimmu, the late Emperor Meiji announced these words to the spirits of the Imperial Ancestors above, and to us, the subjects of the empire, below. This is the express determination of the First Article of the Imperial Constitution of Japan. The article is authoritative and as clear as the light of sun and stars. We may compare it with the words which, long ago in the Divine Age, the Heavenly Ancestor, *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami*, spoke to the Heavenly Grandson, when in establishing in the beginning the principle of sovereignty in the state, she personally conferred on him the Three Sacred Treasures and sent him down and appointed him as the sovereign who should rule over this country. In promulgating the Sacred Rescript of the founding of the state she instructed the Heavenly Grandson thus: 'This Reed-plain-Fifteen-thousand-Autumn-Fresh-Rice-ear-Land is the region over which my descendants shall reign. Do thou,

Imperial Offspring, go and rule over it. Go! and the prosperity of the Imperial Succession of Heaven shall be as everlasting as Heaven and Earth.' If we compare this great and sacred Imperial Rescript of the foundation of the state with the First Article of the Imperial Constitution we can see that although they differ in matters of form of composition and choice of words yet in meaning and content they agree."[1]

Similar effusions are abundant in contemporary Japanese literature. With all their tendency toward extravagance and bombast, they present little that is not logically involved in the position occupied by the government itself. Common to official progapanda and to private exposition alike are the fundamental tenets that *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami* is the first ancestor of the Imperial Line, that she is the greatest benevolent force of Japanese society and the founder of the principle of Imperial absolutism in the state, and finally that the value of the Japanese state life transcends that of all other political organizations of the world.

That *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami* is the Sun-Goddess of the ancient Shintō pantheon is so apparent and so widely accepted as to make unnecessary any extended attempt to justify such an interpretation here. The meaning of her ordinary title, as just given, is simply "Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity." Certain of her variant titles identify her with the sun even more directly. Among such names are, *Ō-hiru-me-no-muchi* ("Great-Mid-day-Female-Possessor") and *Ama-terasu-ō-hiru-me-no-mi-koto* ("Her-Augustness-Heaven-Shining-Great-Mid-day-Female").[2] The *Nihongi* states in so many words that she is a Sun-Goddess. In the course of its account of the creative activity of the Sky-Father and the Earth-Mother this record says, "Hereupon they together produced the Sun-Goddess, *Hi-no-*

1. *Kokutai Kōwa* (國體講話, "Lectures on the National Constitution," Tokyo, 1921), pp. 13 ff.

2. *Cf.* A., I, p. 18.

kami [called in one writing *Ama-terasu-no-ō-kami*]."[1] In the *Kojiki* account, as already pointed out, she is born from the left eye of the Sky-Father, while the Moon-God, *Tsuki-yomi-no-kami*, is produced immediately afterwards from his right eye.[2] In Polynesian mythology, again, the sister of *Ra*, the solar deity, is *Marama*, the moon.[3] After her creation, *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami* is sent up into the sky and charged with the ruling of the "Plain of High Heaven" while the Moon-God is given authority over the dominion of Night.[4] The most striking episode in all the mythology connected with her is to be interpreted either as an eclipse myth or as the result of experiences with the obscuration of the sun by storm clouds. When she retires to the Rock Cave of Heaven, great darkness prevails in heaven and earth; when she again shows her face, both the Land of Reed-plains and the Plain of High Heaven again become light.[5] Her *shintai* [representation or dwelling-place in the shrine] is a mirror, that is a sun symbol.[6] One of the *Nihongi* variants says that she was produced by *Izanagi* from a white-copper mirror.[7] In certain of the modern Shintō sects the sun, under the same of *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami*, is worshipped as a personalized *kami*.[8] This popular faith must be regarded as expressing the beliefs of genuine Shintō.

There are Shintoists in modern Japan who admit all this but who, at the same time, call attention to the well established principle that mythology necessarily takes form under the influence of the social and political institutions of the environment in which it develops. The political functions assigned to *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami* in the ancient records of Shintō are thus

1. 於是共生日神 [一書云天照大神]. *Cf.* N., p. 9.
2. *Cf.* C, p. 43.
3. Tregear, *Maori-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary*, p. 383.
4. *Cf.* C., *op. cit.*
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 54-59.
6. *Cf.* Satow, E., "The Shintau Temples of Ise," T.A S J., Vol. II, p. 117.
7. *Cf.* A, I, p. 20.
8. Fujita, K., *Shintō Kaku Kyōha no Hyōri*, pp. 140-143.

taken as evidence for the early manifestation of certain persistent facts both of Japanese state organization and of Japanese racial psychology.

Dr. Y. Haga well exemplifies this method of interpretation when he says, "The mythology of our country differs from that of other countries in that it has its center in the Imperial House. Again it is a mythology that makes our national domain central. At the time of the separation of Heaven and Earth the two *kami*, *Izanagi* and *Izanami*, descended upon the island of Onogoro and first gave birth to the Eight Great Islands, that is they gave birth to our national territory. Then they produced the deities of water, trees and fire. After giving birth to the deity of fire, *Izanami* went away. *Izanagi*, in order to meet with her, went after her to the Land of Darkness. Afterwards, when he was washing away his defilement, there were produced from his eyes and nose the three deities, *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami*, *Tsuki-yomi-no-kami* and *Susa-no-wo-no-mikoto*. This *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami* is called the Ancestor of our Imperial Family. In other words the Japanese territory and *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami* are both the children of *Izanagi*. That is to say, they are brother and sister. The fact of an inseparable connection between the national domain and the Imperial Family may be understood from this.

"Then it was established that *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami* should rule the Plain of High Heaven, that *Tsuki-yomi-no-mikoto* should rule over the night and that *Susa-no-wo-no-mikoto* should rule the sea. Later *Hiko-hoho-ninigi-no-mikoto* came down from heaven upon this land and ruled over it. Since this land was born in the beginning as the brother of *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami*, there was no reason why any one could object to this.

"Afterwards *Susa-no-wo-no-mikoto* went to Idzumo. As his descendant, in the fifth generation, appeared *O-kuni-nushi-no-mikoto*. The latter, recognizing (the lordship of) the Heavenly Grandson, quietly submitted and handed over his country to

him. . . . . Thus it is that the essential, formative element in our ancient mythology is the idea that our national domain should be ruled over by the Heavenly Grandson as well as the idea that our national domain should be ruled over by no others than those of the lineage of the Heavenly Grandson. The spirit of *Ō-kuni-nushi-no-mikoto* who, upon hearing that *Ninigi-no-mikoto* was the Heavenly Grandson, quietly surrendered up the land to him, appears likewise as the spirit of our people in the Reform of Taika (645 A.D.) and in the Restoration of Meiji (1868 A.D.)."[1]

Prof. S. Honaga and Dr. T. Inouye make similar use of the mythology. The latter writer speaks of the command of *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami* to *Ninigi-no-mikoto* that he should "go and rule over" the territory that later became part of the Empire of Japan, as a great *prophecy*.[2] Prof. Honaga is of the opinion that the great "edict" of the Sun-Goddess cannot be taken merely as a bit of mythology, "since there is handed on to us in this edict, in an authoritative way, the tendency and meaning of the foundation of the state. What *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami* therein purposed was actually brought to pass. In the sequel, the Japanese national spirit has nourished itself upon this edict."[3]

The form of interpretation just examined frankly recognizes that *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami* is a Sun-Goddess. At the same time it attempts to deduce important conclusions from the political position which she is alleged to have occupied in the oldest Japanese mythology.

Dr. Haga in making his argument concerning the uniqueness of Japanese mythology, wherein he seeks to prove an inseparable connection between the national domain and the royal family from the relationship of the Sun-God-

1. Haga, Y., *Kokumin Sei Jūron*, pp. 15-17.

2. Inouye, T., *Kokumin Dōtoku Gairon*, pp. 85-86.

3. Honaga, S., *Ama-Terasu-Oho-Mi-Kami, Der Ursprung ihrer Verehrung als Goettliche Urahnin von Japan* (Bristol, 1916), pp. 6-7.

Goddess and the Japanese islands, is apparently ignorant of the fact that a similar argument can be built up for practically every people among whom we can locate the myth of the Sky-Father and the Earth-Mother. We can imagine a New Zealand chief, for example, formulating essentially similar conclusions on the basis of the myth of the creative activity of *Rangi*, the father of many of the islands of Polynesia and the ancestor of gods and men.[1]

Furthermore, contrary to the view of the above writers, it may be said with a considerable degree of confidence that the oldest mythology revealed in the literary records does not center in the Sun-Goddess. As shown in the preceding chapter, the center of the oldest Japanese mythology lies in the activities of the Sky-Father and the Earth-Mother. Earlier deities, it is true, are mentioned in the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi*, yet the mythology which surrounds them is meagre and without movement, and the genealogical sequence as it appears in these two sources is probably a comparatively late expression of speculative interest, if not, indeed, of a political motive which aims at deliberate suppression of these two older deities. It is to be remembered that the *Kogoshūi* opens with the account of the activities of *Izanagi* and *Izanami*. These two are to be taken as the most primitive Japanese deities that can be identified.

The important fact for us to observe here is that the earliest mythology clearly subordinates the Sun-Goddess to the Sky-Father. Older than the great command of *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami* to *Ninigi-no-mikoto*, which is supposed to have led to the founding of the Japanese state, is the command of *Izanagi* to *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami* wherein he says, "Do Thine Augustness rule the Plain-of-High-Heaven."[2] The primitive patriarchal organization of society that is here reflected in *Izanagi's* direct authority over his offspring is manifestly a very different

1. See above, p. 196, note 4.
2. *Cf.* C., p. 43.

thing from that which is implied in a program that contemplates wide-spread political unification under the standard of the Sun-Goddess regarded as a great tribal chieftainess. The evidence of the mythology shows that Japanese political and social life, exactly as in the cases of all other ancient societies, evolved out of very simple beginnings. The operation of a principle of change and development can be discerned even in the mythology. In other words, the mythology changes in form with alterations in the fundamental character of the social life and with the appearance of new interests in the political field. The great fallacy in the position of modern Japanese Shintoists, as a whole, is that they practically deny the operation of a principle of development in Japanese society. Consciously or unconsciously dominated by an interest in safe-guarding the permanence of the existing form of political life, they attempt to carry back to the remotest beginnings of organized Japanese society an idealization of the present *status quo*. Over against the conclusions of such a method, it is to be maintained that the formative element of the oldest Japanese mythology is not the idea that the national domain should be ruled over by the Heavenly Grandson and his descendants. The social life reflected in the most ancient mythology has not yet advanced to any such complicated situation. The earliest formative element is, on the other hand, simply that of a very ancient domestic life, under the influence of which is constructed a world-view in terms of the primitive relations of father, mother and child. This gives us exactly the same naive mythological scheme as is found widespread over the earth at corresponding stages of cultural development.

Not only is it true that the oldest mythology does not make the activities of *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami* central, but even in that later mythology which clearly reflects the presence of a centralizing political program, the Sun-Goddess is far from being that embodiment of political absolutism which certain extremists

among modern Shintoists would make her out to be. The decisions relating to the subduing of the Central Land of Reed-plains are made by a council of the Gods.[1] In the *Nihongi*, the Heavenly Grandson is sent down by *Taka-mi-musubi-no-mikoto*.[2] In the *Kojiki* he is sent down by *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami* and *Taka-mi-musubi-no-kami* acting conjointly and the two together lay on him the command, "This Luxuriant-Reed-plain-Land-of-Fresh-Rice-ears is the land over which thou shalt rule."[3]

We are brought, then, to a place where we must consider certain factors relating to the probable reasons for the rise of the cult of the Sun-Goddess to a central position in Shintō. The later mythology clearly subordinates the Sky-Father to the Sun-Goddess.

In accounting for this inversion of the older relationship we may note the operation of two factors, the one a natural evolution in mythology, the other, as it would appear, a movement in the field of political interests.

In the course of the ordinary development of mythology that goes on concomitantly with the tendency of human social experience to become increasingly complicated, specialized and definite, it is the universal fate of the Sky-Father and the Earth-Mother that they are superseded by the more particularized nature deities to whom they give birth. Foucart, in his study of sky-gods, has already pointed out three results of this tendency—"(a) The acts of the sky-god become separate personalities and gradually dismember his personality. (b) The beings produced by the celestial energy—sun, moon, stars—tend to . . . . relegate to the background the beneficent role of the sky. (c) On the terrestrial plane the activities of various spirits and of their representations (fetishistic or iconic) take a more and more conspicuous part in the world's strug-

1. *Cf.* C., pp. 93-95, 99-101.
2. *Cf.* A., I, pp. 64, 67, 70.
3. *Cf.* C., pp. 107, 111.

gles."[1] Finally they "capture" at least a portion of the attributes of the original parents.

This process has gone on in Japanese myth as elsewhere. As the mythology develops, *Izanagi* and *Izanami* retire into the remote background and the story moves on with the account of activities centering in the more definite forms of their offspring, regarded as the deities of specific phases of experience which was once merged as a more or less undifferentiated totality in the general outlines of the great parents.

In this connection, Foucart's discussion furnishes material for establishing an illuminating parallelism between Japanese and Egyptian cultures. This author says, "The progress of the religious system almost always results in substituting for creation by the sky-god the organization of the world by the sun-god, the moon-god, or one of the stellar gods. Sometimes in fact the sun-god is supreme creator. Ancient Egypt presents a very complete schema of this type of evolution. It tends to substitute Rā (the sun) for the sky-gods (such as Atum, Hor, Nut, Hathor, Anhur, Sebek, etc.); but it does not completely realize this evolution, and consigns to the more or less vague beginning the primitive activity of the sky-god."[2] The Japanese Sun-Goddess is far from being the supreme creator. In this field the Sky-Father consistently maintains a dominant position; yet from the point of view of general type of development Shintō must be here classified along with early Egyptian religion.

The early specialization of social experience which led to this differentiation and elevation of the Sun-Goddess on the part of the Japanese ancestors was undoubtedly connected with agricultural development. This is made plain in the mythology. After the goddess of food (*Uke-mochi-no-kami*) has been made to produce from her own dead body, oxen, horses, millet, silkworms, panic, rice and beans, it is the Sun-Goddess who de-

1. Foucart, George, "Sky and Sky-gods," H.E.R.E., Vol. XI, p. 584.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 585.

clares, "These are the things which the race of visible men will eat and live."[1] The myth then says, "So she [the Sun-Goddess] made the millet, the panic, the wheat, and the beans the seed for the dry fields, and the rice she made the seed for the water-fields. Therefore she appointed a village-chief of Heaven, and forthwith sowed for the first time the rice seed in the narrow fields and in the long fields of Heaven. That autumn, drooping ears bent down, eight span long, and were exceedingly pleasant to look on. Moreover she took the silkworms in her mouth and succeeded in reeling thread from them. From this began the art of silkworm rearing."[2] The Sun-Goddess appears here as the organizer of agricultural industry. The social organization has reached the stage of well developed agricultural communities under village chiefs who are accountable to some central authority, yet even thus the chief functions of the Sun-Goddess are in relation to food. The same conclusion may be deduced from the fact that *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami* appears in the *Norito* as the "Divine Producer" (of food and life).[3] Her most intimate associate in the mythology, if not her actual double, is the great producing god, *Taka-mi-musubi-no-kami*, "the High-August-Producing-Wondrous-Deity."[4] The survival of an early relation to agriculture is to be seen in the fact that the center of the Harvest Festivals of modern Shintō is still the presention of first-fruits to the Sun-Goddess.[5] The same relationship is further indicated in the fact that the greatest of the associates of *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami* in the worship of the Ise shrines is a food goddess.[6]

This development of the cult of the Sun-Goddess under early agricultural influences has been accompanied by the

1. A., I, p. 33.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Cf.* T.A.S.J., Vol. VII, pp. 126-127.
4. *Ibid.*
5. See above, pp. 132-3.
6. *Cf.* T.A.S.J., Vol. II, pp. 99-121.

operation of definite political interests. Yet the utmost caution must be exercised in any attempt to reconstruct out of the legendary records of the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi* the details of the expression of this political motive. The modern Japanese government, in its program of utilizing the old mythology as material for nationalistic ethical training in the public schools, is far from recognizing any such limitations. As already pointed out a particularized account of the descent of the Heavenly Grandson under the command of the Sun-Goddess and the establishment of his rule over his destined empire is expounded with a degree of assurance that is well adapted to induce the confidence that the entire movement is completely within the bounds of well established historical fact.

The conclusion that such actual historical facts as lie behind the narrative here are almost inextricably entangled in a network of mythology is confirmed by a closer investigation of the evidence. It will be remembered that the "Japanese History for Middle Schools," as quoted earlier in the discussion, in its account of the presentation of the Reed-plain Land of Japan to the grandson of *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami*, gives prominent place to the coming down of the two *kami*, *Take-mika-dzuchi* and *Futsu-nushi*.[1] They were sent by the Heavenly Deities to *Ō-kuni-nushi-no-mikoto*, the "ruler of Idzumo" with the message that the latter should surrender up his land to the Heavenly Grandson. The episode is of sufficient importance to warrant the introduction here of the *Nihongi* account verbatim. The story is as follows.

"After this, *Taka-mi-musubi-no-mikoto* again assembled all the Gods that they might select some one to send to the Central Land of Reed-Plains. They all said:—'It will be well to send *Futsu-nushi-no-kami*, son of *Iha-tsutsu-no-wo* and *Iha-tsutsu-no-mé*, the children of *Iha-saku-ne-saku-no-kami*.'

"Now there were certain Gods dwelling in the Rock-cave

1. See above, p. 187.

of Heaven, viz. *Mika-no-haya-hi-no-kami*, son of *Idzu-no-wo-bashiri-no-kami*, *Hi-no-haya-hi-no-kami*, son of *Mika-no-haya-hi-no-kami*, and *Take-mika-dzuchi-no-kami*, son of *Hi-no-haya-hi-no-kami*. The latter God came forward and said :—'Is *Futsu-nushi-no-kami* alone to be reckoned a hero? And am I not a hero?' His words were animated by a spirit of indignation. He was therefore associated with *Futsu-nushi-no-kami* and made to subdue the Central Land of Reed-Plains. The two Gods thereupon descended and arrived at the Little Shore of Itasa, in the Land of Idzumo. Then they drew their ten-span swords, and stuck them upside down in the earth, and sitting on their points questioned *Oho-na-mochi-no-kami* [one of the numerous titles of *Ō-kuni-nushi-no-mikoto*], saying :—'*Taka-mi-musubi-no-mikoto* wishes to send down his August Grandchild to preside over this country as its Lord. He has therefore sent us two Gods to clear out and pacify it. What is thy intention? Wilt thou stand aside or no?' Then *Oho-na-mochi-no-kami* answered and said :—'I must ask my son before I reply to you.' At this time his son, *Koto-shiro-nushi-no-kami* was absent on an excursion to Cape Miho in the Land of Idzumo, where he was amusing himself by angling for fish. . . . .

"He therefore took the many-handed boat of Kumano, and placing on board of it his messenger, *Inase-hagi*, he despatched him, and announced to *Koto-shiro-nushi-no-kami* the declaration of *Taka-mi-musubi-no-kami*. He also inquired what language he should use in answer. Now *Koto-shiro-nushi-no-kami* spoke to the messenger, and said :—'The Heavenly Deity has now addressed us this inquiry. My father ought respectfully to withdraw, nor will I make any opposition.' So he made in the sea an eight-fold fence of green branches, and stepping on the bow of the boat, went off [died]. The messenger returned and reported the result of his mission. Then *Oho-na-mochi-no-kami* said to the two Gods, in accordance with the words of his son :—'My son, on whom I rely, has already departed. I, too, will depart. If I were to make resistance

all the Gods of this Land would certainly resist also. But as I now respectfully withdraw, who else will be so bold as to refuse submission?' So he took the broad spear which he had used as a staff when he was pacifying the land and gave it to the two Gods, saying :—'By means of this spear I was at last successful. If the Heavenly Grandchild will use this spear to rule the land, he will undoubtedly subdue it to tranquillity. I am now about to withdraw to the concealment of the short-of-a hundred-eighty road-windings [road to the Under World].' Having said these words, he at length became concealed [died]. Thereupon the two Gods put to death all the rebellious spirits and Deities. . . . . Ultimately they reported the result of their mission."[1]

Take-mika-dzuchi-no-kami, who appears in the above account as the forerunner of the Imperial Grandson, has already been identified as an ancient Japanese thunder-god. *Futsu-nushi-no-kami*, like the sword of *Izanagi* and like *Take-mika-dzuchi* with whom he is associated, grew out of primitive experiences with the lightning flash. He is not altogether the creation of mere imagination nor is he so entirely the expression of social experience as to be explicable purely as a culture hero, as the account in the Japanese History for Middle Schools would seem to imply. *Futsu-nushi* is a *kami* who was actually seen to come down out of heaven, in shape like a sword. In the visible traces of his striking and smiting on earth there was vivid proof of his power to subdue the land. The old account remembers that such was his character when it says that acting in cooperation with the thunder-god he put to death "the tribes of herbs, trees and rocks,"[2] that is, he struck them with his sword. An examination of the names and further activities of this deity confirms the interpretation just suggested. *Futsu-nushi* is the Striker or the Smiter. He appears under various names: Thrust-

1. A., I, pp. 67-70.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 69.

Strike-Deity (*Sazhi-futsu-no-kami*), Awful-Strike Deity (*Mika-futsu-no-kami*), August-Strike-Spirit (*Futsu-no-mi-tama*) and Strike-Master-Deity (*Futsu-nushi-no-kami*).[1] In all of his titles the idea of striker persists. In one case he is the son of Rock-Possessing-Male (*Iwa-tsutsu-no-wo*),[2] a *kami* who is naturally associated with primitive experiences with fire-flints. In another case he is spoken of as a sword belonging to the thunder-god.[3] Again, he is so closely related with thunder that the *Kojiki* gives the names Terrible-Strike-Deity (*Take-futsu-no-kami*) and Abundant-Strike-Deity (*Toyo-futsu-no-kami*) as alternate titles of the thunder-god, himself.[4]

There is a passage in the *Kojiki*, under the account dealing with the achievements of the first Emperor, which furnishes unique evidence in support of the lightning-god character of *Futsu-nushi*. The story relates how, when the royal progress of Jimmu Tennō was seriously delayed by the savage deities of Kumanu, there appeared a man, Takakuraji by name, bearing a marvelous cross sword that had been sent down from heaven. When the Emperor once had the sword in his possession, "the savage deities of the mountains of Kumanu all spontaneously fell cut down."[5] The name of the sword was Thrust-Strike-Deity

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1. *Cf.* C., p. 135, A., I, p. 115. The justification of translating *futsu* by "strike" is found in the close kinship evidently existing between *futsu* and *butsu* or *utsu* "to hit," "to strike." For example, the derivative adverbial forms *futtsuri*, *buttsuri* and *puttsuri* all have reference to a breaking or snapping sound. We have here the evidence of a b f mutation in the form *butsu* (*utsu*). A common interpretation of *futsu* favors the meaning of "snap," hence "Awful-Snap-Deity" as the title of this particular *kami*. (*Cf.* C., p. 135, note 13). The idea of "snapper," however, does not seem altogether congruous to the nature of a deity to whom the epithets "thrust" and "awful" are applied and who is spoken of as the sword of the thunder-god. *Futsu* in the sense of "strike" is fully as permissible as in that of "snap" and is much more appropriate to the function of the deity concerned.

2. *Cf.* A., I, p. 67.

3. C., p. 135.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 32.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 134.

(*Sazhi-futsu-no-kami*) and the manner of its being let down from heaven is the interesting part of the story. It was revealed to Takakuraji in a dream that the thunder-god would perforate the roof of his store house and drop the sword through the hole thus made.[1] The *Nihongi* then relates: "The next morning, as instructed in his dream, he opened the storehouse, and on looking in, there indeed was a sword which had fallen down (from Heaven), and was standing upside down on the plank floor of the storehouse."[2] We are reminded that in early Greek religion the lightning-god was also "the Striker" and the "Earth-shaker" and that in certain elevated spots, as on the Acropolis at Athens, were Places of Coming, open to the sky, upon which the lightning-god might descend, and, further, that in order to facilitate his coming down from heaven, a hole was left in the roof of the north porch of the Erechtheion.[3]

1. *Ibid.*, p. 135.

2. A., I, p. 115. The statement that the sword was standing upside down has its probable explanation in the fact that the ceremonial swords found at the Shintō shrines are frequently inserted in a pedestal and given this inverted position. The ceremonial usage is probably very old. A large wooden sword, seen at the Namiyoke Shrine of Tokyo in the summer of 1921, had an engraved representation of a lightning flash, colored in bright red, running the entire length of the blade. What was fully as remarkable was the fact that the sword was mounted on a base carved in the form of a serpent's tail. The local explanation declared that this was the great serpent slain by *Susa-no-wo*, from the tail of which was taken the sword that has since become a part of the Imperial regalia. The object exhibited by the Namiyoke Shrine was at once a serpent's tail, a sword and a lightning flash. Both legend and art in Japan connect the serpent or dragon with the thunder-storm. The storm-dragon is frequently found represented at the shrines. The great serpent of Mimuro Hill spoken of in the *Nihongi* gave forth rolling thunder and had eyeballs that flamed with fire. Its name was *Ikadzuchi*, "Thunderbolt" (A., I, p. 347). The sword which *Susa-no-wo* extracted from he serpent's tail is called *Mura-kumo-no-tsurugi*, "Clustering-clouds-Sword." The evidence here again suggests a sword that appeared when the great serpent writhed in the storm clouds. *Cf.* T.A.S.J., Vol. XLIX, Pt. I, p. 347.

3. *Cf.* Harrison, *Themis*, pp. 91-92. The Place of Coming in Greek religion may be profitably compared with an ancient ceremonial object of Shintō, known as the *himorogi*, which is connected with the coming down or the bringing down of the god. The *himorogi* is in fact a "place of coming" and is probably

The movement of the subduing of the land in preparation for the coming of the August Grandson of the Sun-Goddess is thus in the realm of the activities of mythological nature deities. Idzumo was conquered by Thunder and Lightning.

The account of the descent of the grandson of the Sun-Goddess is likewise clothed in the garments of a nature myth. The *Nihongi* says of this event, "So the August Grandchild left his Heavenly Rock-seat, and with an awful path-cleaving, clove his way through the eight-fold clouds of Heaven, and descended on the Peak of Takachiho of So in Hiuga."[1] The picture is that of the sun's rays—offspring of the Sun-Goddess—striking in a broad path between the clouds down onto a mountain peak. That the story is not moving merely in the realm of the figurative representation of imperial splendor is to be seen in the further statement that *Ninigi-no-mikoto* took as his wife *Ko-no-hana-saku-ya-hime* ("Princess-Blossoming-Brilliantly-Like-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees"),[2] who is the goddess of Mt. Fuji. Her father is the Deity of Mountains, *Ō-yama-tsumi-no-kami* ("Great-Mountain-Body-Deity").[3] The offspring of this marriage in the third generation becomes the first traditional emperor of Japan, Jimmu Tennō.[4]

Yet the conclusion that the outlines of certain remote tribal movements can also be dimly perceived through this myth and legend is probably correct. The records appear to

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the original Shintō altar. It evidently antedates the shrines, themselves. It consists, in general, of a sacred enclosure marked off by *shimenawa* within which is placed a small tree, usually the *sakaki*, mounted upright on a table. Modern Shintoists define *himorogi* to mean "god-dwell-tree." The tree appears to be the important part of the device. Hemp fibre and white paper, the latter folded and cut in a zig-zag form, are fastened into the top of the tree and evidently represent descending influences. The form of the paper suggests nothing so much as a symbolic representation of lightning coming down into the tree. This in turn suggests the source from which the *gohei* possibly derives its pecular zig-zag shape.

1. *Ibid.*, p. 70.
2. *Cf.* C., p. 115.
3. *Cf.* C., pp. 27, 115.
4. See above, p. 185.

bear witness to an early struggle between independent tribal settlements located in Kyūshū and Idzumo, which later amalgamated to a certain extent and migrated into Yamato. Final unification was effected under this Yamato state, wherein the dominant political element was of Kyūshū origin.[1] The subduing of Idzumo does not appear to have been accomplished through such quiet submission on the part of the original rulers as Dr. Haga and others would have us believe took place. Repeated attempts were apparently made to conquer this state[2] and complete subjection to the offspring of the Sun-Goddess seems to have been secured only after various "rebellious spirits and deities" had been put to death.[3] In determining the amount of importance that is to be assigned the words of renunciation in favor of the Heavenly Grandson which the records put into the mouths of *Ō-na-mochi* and his son, *Koto-shiro-nushi*, it is to be remembered that both the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi* were written in the interests of an effort to fortify dynastic claims in the presence of rival political interests, appearing in the seventh and eighth centuries of Japanese history.[4] This policy of centralization and unification was being carried out by the descendants of the very priests who brought the Sun-Goddess into Yamato.[5] It is in this process of political amalgamation that the dogma of imperial descent from *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami* becomes especially important. As just stated, the Sun-Goddess of Shintō was brought in by the conquerors from the south. The doctrine plays no part in the original Idzumo genealogies. The great ancestor of the Idzumo line is *Ō-kuni-nushi-no-mikoto*.[6] The latter line has been attached to the lineage of the Sun-Goddess through *Susa-no-wo-*

1. *Cf.* Murdoch, Vol. I, pp. 50-51; C., Intro, pp. XLIV–LXIV.
2. *Cf.* C., pp. 93-99.
3. *Cf.* A, I, p. 69.
4. Saito, H., *Geschichte Japans*, p. 4; Murdoch, *op. cit.* pp. 57-59.
5. Murdoch, *op. cit.*, pp. 57, 67.
6. *Cf.* T.A.S.J., Vol. XLI, Pt. IV, p. 583.

no-mikoto, but it is significant that the priests of Idzumo, themselves, do not claim descent from *Susa-no-wo*.[1]

The rise of the cult of *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami* to its dominant position in Shintō is thus to be explained in no small measure from the point of view of its intimate association with the fortunes of imperial sovereignty vested in the chiefs of the Kyūshū-Yamato tribe and their royal descendants. As the great ancestor of this line, she has gained ascendency *pari passu* with the centralization of power in the hands of the Emperor and the imperial bureaucracy and has subordinated other deities as an important part of the extension of this centralized political control. Regarding the great "Edict" of the foundation of the state, modern Shintoists say, "What *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami* therein purposed was actually brought to pass." The suspicion is strong, on the other hand, that *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami* is made to purpose what dynastic interests were seeking to bring to pass.

We have examined in outline the main reasons for the rise of sun worship to preeminence in Shintō. The natural development of the cult of the Sun-Goddess under the influence of the needs of an agricultural people has been accompanied by the interaction of political interests. The problem before us, however, is not the reconstruction of the nature of sun worship in old Shintō. Nor need the fate of Shinto throughout the long medieval period concern us here. We must return to the modern situation. We know that in the middle of the nineteenth century, Buddhism and Confucianism were in control in the fields of religion and morals and that the Shintō shrines were neglected and disorganized. *De facto* political power was in the hands of the Tokugawa Shogunate. Then came the Restoration of 1868, a *coup d'état* carried out by men from the southwest. The Choshū and Satsuma clansmen, descendants of the original conquerors from Kyūshū, broke the power of the Tokugawas, placed the Emperor on the throne and once again brought in their ancient Sun-Goddess. The method of

1. *Ibid.*, p. 537.

unification that had served so well in the establishment of the state, was to be used again in a modern effort to control the thinking of the people. Factions and contentions arising from within and disintergrating forces threatening from without were to be met by the stabilizing influence of a state cult centering in the Sun-Goddess. Certain Shintoists have gone farther and have actually proposed the unification of the world under the aegis of *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami*.

The political value of sun worship and of a doctrine of the solar ancestry of the ruler is thus to be found in the centralizing principle that is necessarily involved therein. The sun is a source of life for growing crops and a center of strength and energy for man and thus a benevolent being under whose providence the vital needs of society are supplied. In addition, men, by virtue of their mutual relations to the one and only sun of heaven, are universally consolidated and at the same time subordinated. The sun thus becomes symbol of unity—unity, indeed, under an emblem of incomparable grandeur. Japanese statesmen and priests have been by no means the first to utilize, in political affairs, this aspect of sun worship, made to center in a doctrine of royal descent from the sun deity. Probably the best example in history is that of ancient Egypt, where already by the year 2750 B.C. the priests of Heliopolis were beginning a program of political amalgamation through a worship of the Sun-God, regarded as the great patron divinity of the state. This was accompanied by the fiction that the Sun-God was a former ruler of Egypt and also the great ancestor of the reigning Pharaoh as well as the protector and leader of the nation.[1] These propositions are almost indentical with those advanced in the modern text-books on ethics and on history published by the Department of Education of the Japanese Government.

We may turn next to the consideration of *Susa-no-wo*, "The Impetuous male" of the Shintō pantheon. Modern

1. *Cf.* Breasted, J. H., *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1912), pp. 15 ff.

official interpretation makes this deity the brother of *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami* and consequently one of the ancestors of the Imperial Family. He appears in the *Kojiki* as *Take-haya-susa-no-wo-no-mikoto*, "His Brave-Swift-Impetuous-Male Augustness"[1] and in the *Nihongi* with the slightly different titles, *Susa-no-wo-no-mikoto*,[2] *Haya-susa-no-wo-no-mikoto*,[3] and *Kamu-susa-no-wo-no-mikoto*[4] [*susa* or *sosa* probably from *susumu*, "to be impetuous"].

The use which the Department of Education of the Japanese Government makes of some of the mythology connected with *Susa-no-wo-no-mikoto* may be seen in the following translation from one of the school readers. The story relates the origin of the sacred sword which has already been enumerated as one of the Three Sacred Treasures that constitute the traditional regalia received by successive generations of Emperors on accession to the Imperial Throne. The reader says, "The younger brother of *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami* was called *Susa-no-wo-no-mikoto*. He was a deity possessed of great courage. Once as he was passing along the bank of the river Hi in the land of Idzumo a chopstick came floating down the stream. Thereupon he concluded that people lived up the river and as he went along the bank, gradually going farther into the depths of mountains, he came upon an old white haired man and his wife, with their daughter placed between them. They were weeping.

"'Why do you weep?' asked the Prince. "The old man made answer, "We once had eight daughters, but they have been captured and devoured one each year by a great serpent called *Yamata-no-orochi* ("Eight-Forked-Great-Serpent"). Now only this one child is left to us. It is now the exact time of the year for the coming of this great serpent and

1. *Cf.* C., p. 43.
2. *Cf.* A., I, p. 28.
3. *Cf.* A., I, p. 19.
4. *Cf. op. cit.*

we know not whether the life of this child will be taken to-day or to-morrow.'

"'What kind of a serpent is this *Yamata-no-orochi?*'

"'It is a great serpent whose length covers eight mountains and eight valleys, it has eight heads and eight tails. Its eyes are red like the ground-cherry and its back is covered with moss.'

"On hearing this account the Prince said, 'Enough! I will destroy this great serpent. Fill eight saké-vats with strong saké and arrange them in a row in the place where the great serpent comes.'

"They made ready in this way and waited. Presently the great serpent appeared and, spying the saké, he put his eight heads into the eight saké-vats and began to drink. While so doing, he became intoxicated and fell soundly asleep. Then the Prince drew his sword and cut the great serpent into pieces. The blood flowed into the Hi River so that the waters became a bright red. When he was cutting the tail, the blade of his sword was nicked. Thinking this strange he cut open the tail and examined it. Whereupon, there appeared a magnificent sword. 'This is a precious thing,' he said and presented it to *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami*. This is the Clustering-clouds-Sword-of-Heaven (*Ama-no-mura-kumo-no-tsurugi*), which afterwards was called the Grass-mowing-Sword (*Kusa-nagi-no-tsurugi*). It is one of the Three Sacred Treasures."[1]

Book I of the teacher's manual accompanying the "Japanese History for Ordinary Primary Schools" presents material that makes similar use of the *Susa-no-wo* myth in explaining the origin of the Three Sacred Treasures. The official exposition here says, "The younger brother of *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami* was *Susa-no-wo-no-mikoto*. On account of the violent acts which he often performed in *Takama-ga-hara*, the Great Deity became enraged and hid herself within the Rock Cave of Heaven. Hereupon all the deities held consulation together and caused

79. *Jinjō Shōgaku Tokuhon*, No. VIII (Tokyo, 1921), pp. 1-6.

Ishi-kori-dome to take copper from Heavenly Mount Kagu and make an eight-sided mirror and caused *Tama-no-oya-no-mikoto* to make the Curved Jewels of Yasaka Gem. These they hung on the branches of a *sakaki* tree together with blue and white 'soft offerings' and presented them to the Great Deity. Then they made music before the Rock Cave and called her forth. Afterwards on the occasion of the descent of the Heavenly Grandson, the Great Deity conferred this sacred mirror on the Prince and commanded him saying, "Regard this as looking on me, myself." She gave him in addition the Grass-mowing-Sword and the above mentioned Curved Jewels of Yasaka Gem. These three together are called the Three Sacred Treasures. The Grass-mowing-Sword is the sword which *Susa-no-wo-no-mikoto* secured when he subdued the great serpent in Idzumo. First it was called the Clustering-clouds-Sword (*Mura-kumo-no-tsurugi*) and later was worn by *Yamato-take-no-mikoto* when he went to subdue the barbarians. From the fact that in order to escape the danger of a fire (kindled by) the enemy he cut down the grass (about him), the name of the sword was changed to Grass-mowing-Sword (*Kusa-nagi-no-tsurugi*).

"After the time of *Ninigi-no-mikoto* the Three Sacred Treasures were kept for successive generations in the Imperial Palace, but in the time of Sujin Tennō (Tenth Emperor), out of a fear lest the divine influence might be contaminated, the sacred mirror and the sacred sword were enshrined in a separate sanctuary. Newly made reproductions, together with the Curved Jewels of Yasaka Gem, became the regalia of the Imperial Throne. After this the sacred mirror and the sacred sword which were handed down from the Divine Age were kept at the Grand Imperial Shrine of Ise, but ever since the eastern invasion of *Yamato-take-no-mikoto* the sacred sword has been kept at the Atsuta Shrine of the city of Nagoya of the country of Owari."[1]

1. *Jinjō Shōgaku Nihon Rekishi, Kyōshi Yō* (Tokyo, 1912), Bk I, pp 56.

Susa-no-wo-no-mikoto is thus officially included in the Imperial genealogies as the younger brother of the greatest of the ancestors of the Emperor. Evidently the government expects this to be taken as authentic history. And yet it is difficult to see how public confidence cannot fail to be weakened ultimately by thus placing on a mythological basis the account of the origin of one of the most precious object of modern politico-religious ceremony, namely the Sacred Sword of the Imperial Regalia.

The seriousness with which the government regards the *Susa-no-wo* myth may be further seen in evidence to be found in one of the Japanese school readers for Korean children published by the Japanese Government for Korea, which says, "The younger brother of *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami* was named *Susa-no-wo-no-mikoto*. He was a person of extraordinary strength who visited about in various places and who also went to the land of Idzumo. At that time there lived in the land of Idzumo a great serpent having eight heads who terrorized the people by capturing and eating human beings. *Susa-no-wo-no-mikoto* filled eight large jars with saké and awaited the coming of the great serpent. Thereupon the monster came to the spot, drank the saké and became intoxicated. Then, while it was sleeping, *Susa-no-wo-no-mikoto* cut it down and thus ended its existence. Strange to relate, in the body of the serpent was found a jeweled sword. *Susa-no-wo-mikoto* took this and presented it to *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami*.

"*Susa-no-wo-no-mikoto* also visited Korea.[1] Furthermore, in Japan proper he planted a large number of trees and with these ships were constructed for going back and forth between Korea and Japan."[2]

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1. *Cf.* A, I, p. 57.

2. *Futsū Gakkō Kokugo Tokuhon* ("Japanese Reader for Ordinary Schools," Pub. by the Japanese Government for Korea, Bk IV, pp. 53 ff.

The account of how *Susa-no-wo* "planted a large number of trees," as given in one of the *Nihongi* variants, reads, "Susa no wo no Mikoto said: —'In the

In the practice exercises that follow the lesson, question number two says: "Tell the reason why *Susa-no-wo-no-mikoto* planted a large number of trees."[1]

The above official exposition would appear to be legitimately open to the interpretation that the Japanese educational authorities for Korea are attempting to utilize an episode of ancient Japanese mythology in a pseudo-historical sense as a means of establishing a connection between Korea and Japan in the minds of Korean children. Likewise, the emphasis on the relation between *Susa-no-wo-no-mikoto* and *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami* indicates the governmental intention, already pointed out, of including *Susa-no-wo-no-mikoto* as one of the ancestors of the Imperial Family.

The historicity of official Japanese statements regarding *Susa-no-wo* is to be estimated in the light of evidence going to show that *Susa-no-wo* is an ancient storm-god. Buckley has already presented convincing proof of the storm-god character of this deity.[2] Florenz has added his authority to this interpretation.[3] Aston eventually came to adopt a similar point of view.[4] Mr. Tsuda, one of the best informed of modern Japanese students of Shintō,[5] likewise concludes that *Susa-no-wo* is a

region of the Land of Han [Korea] there is gold and silver. It will not be well if the country ruled by my son should not possess floating riches [ships]. So he plucked out his beard and scattered it. Thereupon Cryptomerias were produced. Moreover, he plucked out the hairs of his breast, which became Thuyas. The hairs of his eye brows became Camphor-trees. The hairs of his buttocks became Podocarpi. Having done so, he determined their uses. These two trees, viz. the Cryptomeria and the Camphor-tree, were to be made into floating riches; the Thuya was to be used as timber for building fair palaces; the Podocarpus was to form receptacles in which the visible race of man was to be laid in secluded burial-places. For their food he well sowed and made to grow all the eighty kinds of fruit." (A., I, p. 58).

1. *Futsū Gakkō Kokugo Tokuhon*, Bk. IV, p. 56.
2. *Cf.* "The Shintō Pantheon," *New World*, Dec., 1896, pp. 13-14.
3. *Cf.* F., p. 29, note 19.
4. *Cf. Shintō*, pp. 136 ff. See also Aston's letter in F., pp. 319-20.
5. *Cf.* Tsuda, N., *Shintō Kigen Kō* (津田左右, 神道起原論, "An Essay on the Origin of Shintō"), p. 61.

storm-god. The storm-god character of *Susa-no-wo* is assumed in the present discussion. It is necessary for us to note here only enough regarding this deity to make comparison with the Polynesian god, *Tawhiri-ma-tea*, "The Father of Winds and Storms."

In the *Kojiki* myth, as already related, *Susa-no-wo* sprang from the nostrils of *Izanagi* as he purified himself after his return from the lower world; in one of the *Nihongi* accounts he is represented as having been born from *Izanagi* and *Izanami* by the ordinary generative process.[1] His stormy character is indicated in the statement that he was ever weeping, wailing and fuming with rage.[2] His weeping is said to have been such that he dried up all the rivers and the seas,[3] regarding which Buckley has remarked, "an apparent contradiction and a standing puzzle to the Japanese commentators, but plain enough, when the rains flood the country and hide the boundaries of rivers and lakes."[4] In support of this interpretation is the direct evidence of the records going to show that at least a portion of the functions assigned to *Susa-no-wo* grew out of experiences with heavy rain-bearing winds. He is a god who destroys rice fields "in the spring time" by knocking away the pipes and troughs used in irrigation, by filling up channels, and by breaking down the division between fields.[5] All this is plainly based on agricultural experiences during a season of heavy rain. One of the *Nihongi* accounts clothes *Susa-no-wo* in the characteristic rain-hat and grass rain-coat of the oriental farmer.[6] The story further relates that at the time of his banishment he went down from heaven in a violent storm of wind and rain.[7] The argument does not appear to be so self-

1. *Cf.* A., I, p. 19.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.
3. *Cf.* C., p. 44.
4. Buckley, *op. cit.*
5. *Cf.* A., I, p. 48.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 50.
7. *Ibid.*

evident, however, when we attempt to utilize the rain-storm interpretation in order to account for the plain statement of the *Kojiki* that the weeping of *Susa-no-wo* was such as "to wither the green mountains into withered mountains" and "to dry up all the rivers and seas."[1] Rather, the formative experience here would appear to have been with hot drying wind. The inference that ancient Japanese myth referred the devestation caused by both rain and drought to the ravages of *Susa-no-wo* is suggested in the description which the *Nihongi* gives of a paddy field which this god owned—"In the rains, the soil was swept away, and in droughts it was parched up."[2] Experiences with seasonal winds, alternating between hot parching winds and stormy wet winds, may well lie back of this mythology.

The appropriateness of the term "impetuous" in the name of *Susa-no-wo-no-mikoto* is to be found in the ascription to him of a character of such violence as to have brought many people of the country to an untimely end, as well as in the account of how he entered into a struggle with his brethern which finally led to his expulsion from heaven.[3] In view of a similar episode in Polynesian mythology it is of interest to observe that after this expulsion he went up to Heaven again with a mighty noise [winds rising in the sky] and visited his sister, *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami*. As a pledge of good faith the two created, individually, a progeny of lesser *kami*. From the pieces of the sabre of *Susa-no-wo* were produced, *Ta-kiri-hime-no-mikoto* ("Her-Augustness-Torrent-Mist-Princess"), *Ichiki-shima-hime-no-mi-koto* ("Her-Augustness-Lovely-Island-Princess"), and *Tagi-tsu-hime-no-mikoto* ("Her-Augustness-Princess-of-the-Torrent").[4] As will be seen below the Polynesian story presents parallel details.

The Maori god, *Tawhiri-ma-tea* corresponds in functions

1. *Cf.* C., *op. cit.*
2. A., I, p. 48.
3. *Cf.* A., I, p. 19.
4. *Cf.* C., pp. 47-48.

and in genealogical connections with the Japanese god, *Susa-no-wo*. The Maori deity is the child of *Rangi* and *Papa*. He appears as an impetuous god of violence who "sends forth fierce squalls, whirlwinds, dense clouds, massy clouds, dark clouds, gloomy thick clouds, fiery clouds, clouds which precede hurricanes, clouds of fiery black, clouds reflecting glowing red light, clouds wildly drifting from all quarters and wildly bursting, clouds of thunder storms, and clouds hurriedly flying."[1] Like *Susa-no-wo*, he enters into a struggle with his brethern. He attacks *Tane-mahuta* and smites and breaks the forest; he swoops down on the ocean and lashes the waves in his wrath; he attacks *Rongo-ma-tane* and *Haumia-tikitiki*, the gods and progenitors of cultivated and uncultivated food.[2] With this may be compared the Japanese tradition that *Susa-no-wo* was once assigned by *Izanagi* the task of ruling the "sea-plain," but that, instead of doing so, he only cried and wept,[3] also the account of how he attacked cultivated fields by breaking down the divisions of rice-fields and filling up ditches,[4] and, finally, that he killed the Food-goddess.[5] Parallelism appears again in the statement of the Maori myth that through the wrath of *Tawhiri-ma-tea* a great part of the dry land was made to disappear and much of Mother Earth was submerged.[6]

Just as *Susa-no-wo* went up into Heaven and created offspring in company with his sister, so also *Tawhiri-ma-tea* rose up to Heaven. The myth proceeds: "then by himself and the vast Heaven were begotten his numerous brood and they rapidly increased and grew."[7] In the Japanese account the Sun-Goddess takes the place of the Sky-Father, yet the paral-

1. Grey, *op. cit*, pp. 5, 6.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
3. *Cf.* C., p. 44.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 52-53.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 59.
6. *Cf.* Grey, *op. cit*, p. 14.
7. *Ib.d.*, p. 5.

lelism is remarkably close. Polynesian mythology repeats this episode in different form in an account of how during the struggle between *Tawhiri-ma-tea* and his brethern there appeared as offspring of the former the deities, *Ua-nui* ("Terrible-rain"), *Ua-roa* ("Long-continued-rain") and *Ua-whatu* ("Hail-storm"). These were succeeded in turn by *Hau-maringi* ("Mist"), *Hau-marotaroto* ("Heavy-dew") and *Tomai-rangi* ("Light-dew").[1] It will be observed that these lesser deities, like the offspring of *Susa-no-wo* given above, appear in groups of three and that in the personification of mist on the Maori side we have a repetition of the idea of a "Torrent-Mist-Princess" on the Japanese side.

Finally, like *Susa-no-wo*, *Tawhiri-ma-tea* has a high place in the sacred pedigrees. In the Maori genealogies (Ngati-Maniapoto tribe), he appears as eighth from the beginning in a long list that includes King Tawhiao and other noted leaders of the modern Maori people.[2]

In summary of these two deities, then, it may be said that that both are storm gods; they enter into struggles with their brethern and perform like deeds of violence; they rise up to heaven and create offspring in similar fashion; parallelism appears in the grouping and, perhaps, in the functions assigned their descendants; and, finally, both deities have important places in the ancestral genealogies.

Postponing, for the time being, further conclusions we may turn to the investigation of more of the details of the cult life of official Shintō.

1. *Cf.* Tregear, *op. cit.*, p. 449; Grey, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
2. *Cf.* Tregear, *op. cit.*, p. 667.

CHAPTER VIII.

Government and National Shrines.

Conclusions.

An estimate of the character of Shintō as a national cult must, from the nature of the case, be founded to a very large extent on a study of the existing Government Shrines (*Kampeisha*) and the National Shrines (*Kokuheisha*).[1] The ceremonies conducted at these two classes of large shrines are accorded a position of primary importance in the politico-religious program of the Japanese government. The official register of these shrines as revised up to the date of July 16, 1921, includes a total of 183, distributed as follows: Government Shrines of Major Grade (*Kampei Taisha*), 57; Government Shrines of Middle Grade (*Kampei Chūsha*), 23; Government Shrines of Minor Grade (*Kampei Shōsha*), 4; Government Shrines of Special Grade (*Bekkaku Kampeisha*), 24; National Shrines of Major Grade (*Kokuhei Taisha*), 5; National Shrines of Middle Grade (*Kokuhei Chūsha*), 46; National Shrines of Minor Grade (*Kokuhei Shōsha*), 24.[2] To this list must be added the Grand Imperial Shrine of Ise.

We may take up first the investigation of the nature of the deities worshipped at the above shrines. These deities may be studied in the four groups of Emperors, princes, subjects and nature deities. The names of Emperors whose spirits receive public worship are given immediately below. The statement is also made to include the names, grades and locations of all shrines where Emperor worship can be found, together with

1. See above, pp. 20-21.
2. *Cf. Genkō Jinja Hōrei Ruisan*, pp. 842, ff.

certain other historical facts which may be of value in determining the status of this phase of Shintō.

1. Jimmu Tennō (660-585 B.C.).[1]

(1). Miyazaki Shrine, *Kampei Taisha*, Ōmiya Mura, Miyazaki Prefecture. A shrine has stood here, apparently, from very ancient times, and is supposed to mark the traditional site of the palace of Emperor Jimmu in Hyūga. This shrine was made a *Kokuhei Chūsha* on Aug. 10, 1875, and was raised to the rank of *Kampei Taisha* on April 22, 1885.[2]

(2). Kashiwara Shrine, *Kampei Taisha*, Shirakashi Mura, Nara Prefecture. This shrine was founded on March 20, 1890. It supposedly marks the locality of the accession of the first Emperor to the Imperial Throne. The legendary consort of Jimmu Tennō, *Hime-tatara-isuzu-hime-Kōgō*, is also enshrined here as the first traditional Empress.

2. Chūai Tennō (192-200 A.D.).

(1). Kehi Shrine, *Kampei Taisha*, Tsuruga Machi, Fukui Prefecture. The origin of the worship of Emperor Chūai at this shrine appears to be related to the statement of the *Nihongi* that he built the "Palace of Kehi" at Tsuruga and dwelt there. Tradition says that he worshipped the *kami* at this place.

(2). Kashii Shrine, *Kampei Taisha*, Kashii Mura, Fukuoka Prefecture. The date of the establishment of this shrine is uncertain. Tradition dates it from the first year of Shinki (724 A.D.). The shrine was raised to the above rank in 1885.

(3). Yunomiya Shrine [Hachiman], *Kokuhei Shōsha*,

1. The dates of all rulers here listed are given according to the official chronology.

2. For verification of the statements made here and in what follows the reader should consult the *Dai Nihon Shimmei Jisho* under the titles of the various deities as given and also the appendix of the same work under the titles of shrines and deities. See also *Meiji Jinja Shiryō* (3 Vols., Tokyo, 1912); K. Sugimori, *Jingū Kankoku Heisha Shingi Yōroku* (Tokyo, 1919, 4th ed.); J. Saitō, *Ise Jingū Kankoku Heisha Saishin Gokeizu Kaisetsu* (Tokyo, 1918, 3d. ed.); and *Genkō Jinja Hōrei Ruisan, op. cit.*

Chōfu Mura, Yamaguchi Prefecture; raised from a *Kensha* to the above rank in 1916.

(4). Yuhara (Yusuhara) Hachiman Shrine, *Kokuhei Shōsha*, Hachiman Mura, Oita Prefecture; raised from a *Kensha* to the above rank in 1916.

Chūai Tennō's actual connections with the origin of the worship of Hachiman, the god of war, are, as a matter of fact, very remote. They rest largely on the tradition that he was the husband of the Japanese Amazon, Jingō Kōgō, and by her, the father of Ōjin Tennō who, through some curious shift of history, has become identified with the god of war.

3. Ōjin Tennō (*Honda-wake-no-mikoto*, 270-310 A.D.).

(1). Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine, *Kampei Taisha*, Hachiman Machi, Kyoto Prefecture. This shrine was founded in 860 A.D. and was formerly known as the Otokoyama Hachiman.

(2) Usa Shrine [Hachiman], *Kampei Taisha*, Usa Machi, Oita Prefecture. This shrine was founded, according to tradition, in 570 A.D. It marks the original seat of the worship of Hachiman, the god of war.

(3). Kehi Shrine, *Kampei Taisha*, Tsuruga Machi, Fukui Prefecture. See under Chūai Tennō.

(4). Hakozaki Shrine, *Kampei Taisha*, Hakozaki Machi, Fukuoka Prefecture. The shrine has existed from ancient times. It was raised from the rank of *Kensha* to that of *Kampei Chūsha* in 1885 and made a *Kampei Taisha* in 1914.

(5) Tsurugaoka Hachiman Shrine, *Kokuhei Chūsha*, Kamakura Machi, Kanagawa Prefecture. The shrine was founded in 1063 by *Minamoto* Yoriyoshi and raised from the rank of *Kensha* to that of *Kokuhei Chūsha* in 1882.

(6). Fujisaki Hachiman Shrine, *Kokuhei Shōsha*, Kumamoto, Kumamoto Prefecture; raised from the rank of *Kensha* in 1916.

(7). Hakodate Hachiman Shrine, *Kokuhei Chūsha*, Hakodate, Hokkaidō. The date of founding is uncertain. The

shrine was made a *Kokuhei Shōsha* in 1877 and raised to the rank of *Kokuhei Chūsha* in 1896.

(8). Yunomiya Shrine [Hachiman]. See (3) under Chūai Tennō.

(9). Yuhara Hachiman Shrine. See (4) under Chūai Tennō.

The Empress Jingō (201-269 A.D.), the traditional mother of Ōjin Tennō, is enshrined at the following places given in the above lists: (1) Iwashimidzu Hachiman Shrine, (2) Usa Shrine, (3) Kashii Shrine, (4) Kehi Shrine, (5) Yunomiya Shrine, (6) Yuhara Hachiman Shrine.

In the above Hachiman shrines, dedicated to the worship of Chūai Tennō, Ōjin Tennō and Jingō Kōgō, these deities all appear in the role of patron divinities of war. The multiplication of the number of Hachiman shrines of high rank by the elevation of certain ones of lower grade must be taken as an indication of a conspicuous military interest on the part of the modern Japanese government. The origin of the worship of Hachiman, however, is obscure and is not to be connected with Emperor worship as such. The cult of the war god becomes prominent in Shintō early in the eighth century of the Christian era. Ōjin Tennō's principal claim to worship in the cult of Hachiman appears to lie in the story that during her military expedition against Korea his mother, being pregnant, bore him with her all through the campaign.

4. Junnin Tennō (758-764 A.D.).

(1). Shiramine Shrine, *Kampei Chūsha*, Kyoto, Kyoto Prefecture. In estimating the nature of the deification of Emperor Junnin at this shrine it is necessary to take brief notice of the following historical episode. In the course of the struggles for the Imperial Throne that mark the middle of the eighth century Junnin Tennō was deposed after a reign of six years and banished to the island of Awaji, where he was put to death by strangula-

tion.[1] In 1873 his spirit was brought to Kyoto and enshrined at Shiramine.[2]

5. Kwammu Tennō (782-805 A.D.).

(1). Heian Shrine, *Kampei Taisha*, Kyoto, Kyoto Prefecture. This shrine was founded on June 29, 1894.[3] Kwammu Tennō's rights to enduring fame are unquestioned. He is to be reckoned among the truly great rulers of human history, yet it must be taken as highly significant that this shrine was not established until late in the modern period.

6. Sutoku Tennō (1123-1141 A.D.).

(1). Shiramine Shrine. See under Junnin Tennō. In the succession quarrels of the twelfth century the Emperor Sutoku was banished to Sanuki where he died.[4] In 1868 his spirit was brought to Kyoto and enshrined at Shiramine,[5] later to be joined by the spirit of Emperor Junnin.

(2). Kotohira Shrine, *Kokuhei Chūsha*, Kotohira Machi, Kagawa Prefecture; raised from *Kokuhei Shōsha* to the above rank in 1885. Sutoku Tennō is here enshrined in the country of his banishment and death, along with *Ō-mono-nushi-no-mikoto*.

7. Antoku Tennō (1180-1182 A.D.).

(1). Akama Shrine, *Kampei Chūsha*, Shimonoseki, Yamaguchi Prefecture. Antoku Tennō is the child Emperor who was drowned in the Battle of Dan-no-Ura. In the year 1191 A.D., Buddhist piety built a sanctuary by the straits of Shimonoseki, for the repose of his spirit. It was not until after the Restoration, however, that Shintō manifested any special interest in the matter. Then the ancient Buddhist institution was abolished and on October 7, 1875, the Akama Jinja was established.[6]

8. Go-Toba Tennō (1183-1198 A.D.).

9. Tsuchimikado Tennō (1198-1210 A.D.).

1. *Cf.* Murdoch, J., *A History of Japan*, Vol. I, p. 187.
2. *Cf. Genkō Jinja Hōrei Ruisan*, p. 342 (3); Sugimori, *op. cit.*, Pt. II, p. 63.
3. *Cf. Genkō Jinja Hōrei Ruisan*, p. 342 (2).
4. *Cf.* Sugimori, *op. cit.*; Murdoch, *op. cit*, p. 299.
5. *Cf.* Sugimori, *op. cit.*
6. *Cf.* Sugimori, *op. cit.*, Pt. II, p. 64; *Genkō Jinja Hōrei Ruisan*, p. 343 (3).

10. Juntoku Tennō (1211-1221 A.D.).

(1). These three Emperors are worshipped together at the Shrine of Minase, *Kampei Chūsha*, Shimamoto Mura, Osaka Prefecture. In the struggle between the Kamakura Shogunate and the Imperial House, the first of these Emperors was banished to the Island of Oki, the second was banished first to Tosa and later to Awa, and the third was removed to Sado.[1] The spirits of the first two were enshrined at the Minase Miya in 1873; Juntoku Tennō was deified here the following year.[2]

11. Go-Daigo Tennō (1318-1333 A.D.).

(1). Yoshino Shrine, *Kampei Taisha*, Yoshino Mura, Nara. In 1330 the Hōjō banished the Emperor Go-Daigo to the island of Oki, from whence he later escaped and succeeded in effecting a temporary restoration of Imperial power. Later, however, on the eve of the Great Succession Wars he was obliged to flee to Yoshino where he established the Southern Court.[3] Here he died. A government shrine for the worship of Go-Daigo Tennō was established at Yoshino on June 6, 1889, with the rank of *Kampei Chūsha*.[4] In 1901 it was elevated to the rank of *Kampei Taisha*.

12. Meiji Tennō (1867-1912 A.D.).

(1). Meiji Shrine (*Meiji Jingū*), *Kampei Taisha*, Yoyogi, Tokyo; established May 1, 1915. Empress also enshrined.

(2). Chōsen Shrine, *Kampei Taisha*, Seoul, Korea; founded July 18, 1919. *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami* is also enshrined here.

We may summarize the results of our study thus far as follows. Twelve different Emperors and three Empresses are worshipped in twenty different shrines. The numbers are surprisingly small when we remember that the total figure for Government and National Shrines of all grades is 183, and that

1. *Cf.* Sugimori, *op. cit.*, p. 64; Murdoch, *op. cit.*, p. 448.
2. *Cf.* Sugimori, *op. cit.*, Pt. I, p. 34.
3. *Cf.* Murdoch, *op. cit.*, pp. 540-561.
4. *Cf. Genkō Jinja Hōrei Ruisan*, p. 342 (2).

the official genealogy gives the names of 122 sovereigns from Jimmu Tennō to the reigning Emperor. Furthermore, no other shrines of any grade, high or low, have been located where any Emperors other than those listed above receive public worship. It is true that in the *Kōreiden* (Imperial-Spirits-Shrine) of the Imperial Palace the spirits of all the successive generations of Emperors from Jimmu Tennō to Meiji Tennō are enshrined, but this must be regarded merely as an aspect of the family worship of the Imperial Household.

Seven of the shrines given above are clearly Hachiman. If these are omitted from our total, we have remaining thirteen shrines for twelve different Emperors. The Empresses Shōken Kōtaigō (Meiji Empress), Jingō Kōgō and the consort of Jimmu Tennō receive worship at Government and National shrines.

The surprising thing about Emperor worship in modern Shintō, however, is not to be found so much in the small number of rulers and shrines involved as it is in the character of the worship itself, as indicated by the nature of the Emperors who are accorded place in the public worship of the shrines. From this standpoint three groups may be distinguished corresponding to three lines of emphasis in modern Emperor worship :—

The first group centers in the worship of Hachiman, the god of war, and manifests a tendency toward an official exaltation of the military ideal in religion. This phase is not the creation of the present, however, but, on the other hand, represents a fairly ancient movement in Shintō. Yet the modern government makes extensive use of this aspect of Shintō. Ōjin Tennō, alone, has almost as many shrines in the Government and National classes as all the other Emperors put together. All the sovereigns that come within this first group—Chūai, Ōjin and Jingō Kōgō—are legendary.

The second group centers in shrines wherein the religious life of the people is brought into contact with Emperors under whom conspicuous unification and progress have been consum-

mated in the national life. Here must be classified Meiji Tennō, Kwammu Tennō and the legendary Jimmu Tennō. This phase of Shintō is the creation of the modern Japanese government. Four out of five of the great shrines that appear in this connection have been founded since 1890.

The third group centers in shrines wherein the dominant idea is the restoration to a position of royal dignity of the spirits of certain Emperors whose Imperial prerogatives have been compromised by the disloyalty of their subjects. The worship here includes also the ideas of consolation and propitiation for injuries received. This group embraces a greater number of Emperors than both the preceding groups taken together, namely, Junnin, Sutoku, Antoku, Go-Toba, Tsuchimikado, Jintoku, and Go-Daigo—seven out of twelve. Here, again, the movement is the creation of the modern Japanese government. Certain Buddhist beginnings have been taken advantage of, but, in every case, with the one exception of the Kotohira Shrine, the localization of the Imperial spirit in the official shrine has taken place since 1873.

Imperial princes who are deified at Government and National Shrines are eleven in number.[1] In all cases they are

1. These princes and their shrines are :—

1 *Ō hiko-no-mikoto*, son of Kōgen Tennō. According to the tradition of the *Nihongi* this prince was one of the four "Generals of the Four Circuits" (*Yodō Shōgun*) sent out by Sujin Tennō in 88 B.C. with the duty of extending the Imperial authority over unsubdued territories. *Ō-hiko-no-mikoto* is the conqueror of the *Hokurikudō* ("Northern Land Road") district.

(1) Isasumi Shrine, *Kokuhei Chūsha* (1873), Takata Machi, Fukushima Prefecture. [The date given immediately after the rank of the shrine, unless otherwise explained, indicates the time when the shrine was raised to the rank stated].

(2) Koshio Shrine, *Kokuhei Shōsha* (1882), Terauchi Mura, Akita Prefecture.

2. *Takenuma-kawa-wake no-mikoto*, son of *Ō-hiko no mikoto* one of the *Yodō Shōgun* and the traditional conqueror of the *Tōkaidō* ("Eastern Sea Road") district.

(1) Isasumi Shrine. See above under *Ō-hiko-no-mikoto.*

3. *Ō-kibi-tsu-hiko-no mikoto*, son of Kōrei Tennō, also one of the *Yodō Shōgun.* He is the traditional conqueror of the *Sanyōdō* ("Mountain Sunlight Road") district.

certain representatives of the royal line who have manifested unusual loyalty and who at the same time have undergone great hardships during military service in the interests of either the extension or the protection of the claims of the Imperial Throne. The majority of them are known to have met their deaths while engaged on military expeditions. The list includes five of the unfortunate sons of Go-Daigo Tennō who suffered in the first half of the fourteenth century under the "Hōjō tyranny" and the "Ashikaga anarchy." A two-fold idea must be distinguished as underlying the enshrinement and elevation of these princes to their present high positions among the deities of official Shintō. On the one hand, there is an exaltation of the ideal of a devoted loyalty that expresses itself in military service on behalf of the Crown and, on the other hand, there is a rendering of consolation and propitiation to the

(1) Kibitsu Shrine, *Kampei Chūsha* (made a *Kokuhei Chūsha* in 1871 and raised to its existing rank in 1914), Magane Mura, Okayama Prefecture.

4. *Tōyoki iriihiko-no-mikoto*, son of Sujin Tennō; the traditional conqueror of the non-Japanese tribes of the *Tōkoku* ("Eastern Country").

(1) Futaara Shrine, *Kokuhei Chūsha* (1883), Utsunomiya, Tochigi Prefecture.

5. *Yamato-takeru-no-mikoto* (d. 111 A.D.), son of Keikō Tennō. This prince is the legendary conqueror of the Kumaso of Kyūshū and of the Yemishi of Eastern Japan. He was seized with severe illness while on the eastern expedition and died at Nobono in the country of Ise.

(1) Kehi Shrine, *Kampei Taisha* (made *Kokuhei Chūsha* in 1871 and raised to the existing rank in 1895), Tsuruga Machi, Fukui Prefecture.

(2) Takebe Shrine, *Kampei Taisha* (raised from *Kensha* to *Kampei Chūsha* in 1885 and to existing rank in 1899), Setamura, Shiga Prefecture.

6. Prince Takanaga, the first son of Go-Daigo Tennō. This prince was banished to Tosa in 1332 but was back in Kyoto the next year. In 1335 he was made "Shōgun to Subdue the East" and sent with *Nitta* Yoshisada to crush the Ashikaga revolt. He was defeated by Takauji and finally committed suicide at the siege of Kanegasaki.

(1) Kanegasaki Shrine, *Kampei Chūsha* (established with this rank in 1890), Tsuruga Machi, Fukui Prefecture.

7. Prince Tsunenaga, the sixth son of Go-Daigo Tennō. He fought in the Imperial cause under *Nitta* Yoshisada against the Ashikagas. Although only fifteen years of age he took part in the defense of Kanegasaki and after the fall of this stronghold committed suicide by taking poison.

spirits of those who have sustained privation, injury and death in the discharge of such duties. This latter element shows the influence of Buddhist compassion.

As an organized movement in Shintō this phase of hero worship is, again, the creation of the modern Japanese government. It is an aspect of the revival of Imperial institutions that has taken place since the Restoration. It is a selected deification out of numerous possibilities. At least four of the shrines where Imperial princes are worshipped are entirely new foundations, dating from the Meiji Era, while other shrines represent the selection and elevation of older and smaller institutions. The Kanegasaki shrine, for example, where are worshipped the Princes Takanaga and Tsunenaga was not established until 1890. These princes lost their lives in 1338. The latter, Tsunenaga, was not enshrined at Kanegasaki until 1892.[1]

The best indication of the direction in which the Japanese

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(1) Kanegasaki Shrine. See immediately above. Prince Tsunenaga was enshrined here in 1892.

8. Prince Morinaga, the third son of Go-Daigo Tennō. In the years 1332-33 he took a prominent part in the protection of Imperial interests and the overthrow of the Hōjōs. He was later exiled to Kamakura and imprisoned there and finally murdered at the instigation of *Ashikaga* Tadayoshi.

(1) Kamakura Shrine, *Kampei Chūsha* (1873), Kamakura Machi, Kanagawa Prefecture.

9. Prince Munenaga, eighth son of Go-Daigo Tennō. He rendered conspicuous service to the Imperial cause in the struggle against the Hōjōs and Ashikagas.

(1) Iinoya Shrine, *Kampei Chūsha* (founded after the opening of the Meiji Era and given existing rank in 1873), Iinoya Mura, Shizuoka Prefecture.

10. Prince Kanenaga, one of the numerous sons of Go-Daigo Tenno. In 1338 he was made "Shōgun to subdue the West" and took a prominent part in putting down revolts in various places in Kyūshū. In 1359 he was seriously wounded in battle and later died somewhere in Kyūshū.

(1) Yatsushiro Shrine, *Kampei Chūsha* (established with this rank in 1880), Yatsushiro Machi, Kumamoto Prefecture.

11. Prince Yoshihisa [Kita-shirakawa no Miya]. This prince took a prominent part in the subjugation of the aborigines of Formosa (Taiwan) and in 1895 died of disease while on this expedition.

(1) Taiwan Shrine, *Kampei Taisha* (established with this rank in 1900), Taiwan.

1. *Cf.* references given above, p. 269, note 2.

government has endeavored to guide the public worship of Shintō ever since the Restoration in 1868 is to be found in a study of the class of shrines known as *Bekkaku Kampeisha*, Government Shrines of Special Grade. This class of shrines was established in 1871.[1] The official definition says, "*Bekkaku Kampeisha* are shrines where subjects who have gained unusual merit are enrolled and worshipped as *kami*."[2] The content of this merit is generally explained as being that of conspicuous service to the state. The state, however, is here identified with the Imperial House almost completely.[3] A reference to the actual achievements of the national heroes worshipped at these shrines will show that the underlying idea is that of an outstanding loyalty to the Emperor which expresses itself particularly in military service. The best illustration of this principle is to be found in the fact that the modern heroes who are enshrined at the greatest of the *Bekkaku Kampeisha*, namely the Yasukuni Shrine of Tokyo, are limited to those who have given their lives in the active military service of the state, beginning with the sixth year of Kaei (1853). At the remainder of the shrines of this grade certain protectors of Imperial prerogatives against rebellion and aggression, selected from among the hosts that have come and gone in Japanese history, are individually apotheosized. The list here includes the names of twenty-seven patriots, one of them a woman.[4] Eleven of the names represent loyalists of the fourteenth century who fought for the overthrow of the Kama-

1. See above, p. 20.

2. *Cf. Jinjō Shōgaku Shūshin Sho, Kyōshi Yō*, No. IV, p. 23.

3. *Cf. Sugimori, op. cit.*, p. 85.

4. The names of these loyalists together with the names and locations of their shrines are as given below. The statement includes in the majority of cases a brief indication of the nature of the public service rendered. The date given after the location of each shrine shows when it was made a *Bekkaku Kampeisha*.

(1) *Fujiwara* Kamatari (d. 663 A.D.), loyal to the Imperial House. Tanzan Shrine (also called Tamu no Yama Shrine), Tamu no Mine Mura, Nara Prefecture. Dec. 22, 1874.

(2) *Wake* Kiyomaro (d. 799 A.D.), loyal to the Imperial House, circum-

kura Bakufu and for the protection of the Southern Dynasty in the Great Succession Wars—such faithful supporters as the Kitabatakes, *Kikuchi* Taketoki, *Nitta* Yoshisada and, the most renowned of all the Japanese patriots, *Kusunoki* Masashige.

The fact that *Ōda* Nobunaga, *Toyotomi* Hideyoshi and *Tokugawa* Ieyasu are reckoned among the deities of the *Bekkaku Kampeisha* may appear to be an exception to the general rule that deification presupposes such public service as includes,

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vented the priest, Dōkyō, in his scheme to usurp the Imperial throne (*cf.* Murdock, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 200. Goō Shrine, Kyoto Prefecture. Dec. 20, 1874.

(3) *Wake* Hiromushi, elder sister of Wake no Kiyomaro, aided in the overthrow of Dōkyō. Goō Shrine, Kyoto, Kyoto Prefecture.

(4) *Fujiwara* Morokata (d. 1332), loyal to Emperor Go-Daigo. Komikado Shrine, Komikado Mura, Chiba Prefecture. June 14, 1882.

(5) *Kikuchi* Taketoki (d. 1333), loyal to the Imperial House. Kikuchi Shrine, Waifu Mura, Kumamoto Prefecture. Jan. 10, 1878.

(6) *Kusunoki* Masashige (d. 1336), loyal to Emperor Go-Daigo, committed suicide in the Imperial cause. Minatogawa Shrine, Kobe, Hyogo Prefecture. July, 11, 1871.

(7) *Nawa* Nagatoshi (d. 1336), loyal to Emperor Go-Daigo. Nawa Shrine, Nawa Mura, Tottori Prefecture. Jan. 10, 1878.

(8) *Kitabatake* Chikafusa (d. 1354), loyal to the Southern Court in the Great Succession Wars (1337-1392) and author of *Jintōshōtōki* ("History of the True Succession of the Divine Monarchs"). Abe Shrine, Sumiyoshi Mura, Osaka Prefecture. Jan. 24, 1882.

(9) *Kitabatake* Akiie (d. 1338, at the age of twenty-one), first son of *Kitabatake* Chikafusa, loyal to Emperor Go-Daigo. Abe Shrine, Sumiyoshi Mura, Osaka Prefecture.

(10) *Nitta* Yoshisada (d. 1338), loyal to Emperor Go-Daigo, took a prominent part in the overthrow of the Kamakura Shogunate. Fujishima Shrine, Nishi Fujishima Mura, Fukui Prefecture. Nov. 7, 1876.

(11) *Yūki* Munehiro (d. 1338), loyal to Imperial House. Yuki Shrine, Tsu, Mie Prefecture. Jan. 24, 1882.

(12) *Ōe* Motonari (d. 1571), loyal to Imperial House. Toyosaka Shrine, Yamaguchi Prefecture. Dec. 15, 1882.

(13) *Ōda* Nobunaga (1534-1582). Takeisoshi Shrine (also called Kenkun Shrine), Ōmiya Mura, Kyoto Prefecture. April 24, 1875.

(14) *Toyotomi* Hideyoshi (1537-1598). Toyokuni Shrine, Kyoto, Kyoto Prefecture. Aug. 14, 1873.

(15) *Tokugawa* Ieyasu (d. 1616). (1) Tōshōgū, Nikkō, Tochigi Prefecture. June 9, 1873. (2) Tōshogū, Kunomura, Shizuoka Prefecture.

in a fundamental way, conspicuous loyalty to the Imperial House. These three men, however, are properly honored as the principal agents in the unification of Japan after the confusion and anarchy of the Ashikaga regime. Regarding Ōda's deference to the Imperial Court there is no doubt. In the modern text-books for use in the public schools he is upheld as one who restored the Imperial prestige to something of its ancient splendor.[1] Hideyoshi, in spite of the fact that his attitude toward the Throne was probably dominated by personal

(16) *Tokugawa* Mitsukuni (d. 1700). Tokiwa Shrine, Mito, Ibaraki Prefecture. Dec. 15, 1882.

(17) *Tokugawa* Nariaki (d. 1860). Tokiwa Shrine, Mito, Ibaraki Prefecture.

(18) *Shimadzu* Nariakira (d. 1858), an imperialist and nationalist, one of the leaders of the *sonōjōi* movement. Terukuni Shrine, Kagoshima, Kagoshima Prefecture. Dec. 15, 1882.

(19) *Kitabatake* Akinobu, second son of *Kitabatake* Chikafusa, loyal to Emperor Go-Daigo. Ryōzan Shrine, Ryōzan Mura, Fukushima Prefecture. April 20, 1885.

(20) *Kitabatake* Morichika, son of *Kitabatake* Akinobu Ryōzan Shrine. Ryōzan Mura, Fukushima Prefecture.

(21) *Sanjō* Sanetsumu (d. 1859), loyal to Emperors Ninkō and Kōmei. Nashi no Ki Shrine, Kyoto, Kyoto Prefecture. Oct. 10, 1885.

(22) *Sanjō* Sanetomi (d. 1891), fourth son of *Sanjō* Sanetsumu Nashi no Ki Shrine, Kyoto, Kyoto Prefecture.

(23) *Kusunoki* Masatsura (d. 1348), son of *Kusunoki* Masashige, loyal to the Southern Court in the Great Succession Wars, died in the battle of Shijō Nawate. Shijō Nawate Shrine, Shijō Nawate, Osaka Prefecture. Dec 17, 1889.

(24) *Fujiwara* Hidesato (d. 991), loyal to the Imperial House, defeated and killed the pretender to the throne, *Taira* Masakado. Karasawa Yama Shrine, Tanuma Machi, Tochigi Prefecture. Aug. 28, 1890.

(25) *Uesugi* Kenshin (d. 1578), loyal to Emperors Go-Nara and Ōgimachi. Uesugi Shrine, Yonezawa, Yamagata Prefecture. April 26, 1902.

(26) *Maeda* Toshiie (d. 1599), loyal to the Imperial House. Oyama Shrine, Kanagawa, Ishikawa Prefecture. April 26, 1902.

(27) *Mori* Takachika (d. 1871), won merit by loyalty at the time of the Restoration. Noda Shrine, Yamaguchi Machi, Yamaguchi Prefecture.

To the above list must be added the Yasukuni Shrine of Tokyo, established under the name of Shōkonsha in 1869. It was given the rank of *Bekkaku Kanpeisha* in June, 1879, at which time the name was changed to Yasukuni Jinja.

For references see above, p. 269, note 2.

1. *Cf. Jinjō Shōgaku Nihon Rekishi*, No. II (Tokyo, 1911), pp. 16-18.

interest, is regarded by the Department of Education as a staunch supporter of the principle of reverence for the Imperial House.[1] The modern government expounds the merits of Ieyasu as resting primarily on his loyalty to the Imperial Throne.[2] The only members of the Tokugawa family other than Ieyasu to receive public worship at the *Bekkaku Kampeisha* are Mitsukuni and Nariaki, both, however, of the Mito branch. The school text-books exhibit the former as one of the primary factors in stimulating the growth of the modern spirit of loyalty to the Imperial Throne. His patronage of the study of Japanese history is regarded as having led to such a knowledge of the true nature of Japanese national life as to have constituted an important instrument in the final overthrow of the Tokugawa Shogunate.[3] Nariaki is to be remembered as the ultra-imperialistic leader of the party that stood for "reverence for the Emperor and the expulsion of (foreign) barbarians (*sonōjōi*)" in the period just before the Restoration.

This phase of the cult of the shrines is, again, the creation of the government during the past fifty years. It plainly reflects the interests of the modern revival of Imperial institutions and for this movement it furnishes the strongest of moral and spiritual supports. It also represents the magnifying of the military ideal in religion. While in an occasional case, as in that of Mitsukuni of Mito, there is a patronage of literature and art, yet, in general, the special merits which are recognized by the government and which constitute the grounds for public deification are military and political, particularly the former. The rich fields of Japanese literature, philosophy, art and religion are conspicuously unrepresented.

In addition to the above deities of the Government Shrines of Special Grade there are only two other ordinary subjects of the empire who receive public worship at the great Government

1. *Cf. Jinjō Shōgaku Shūshin Sho*, No. IV (Tokyo, 1920), pp. 11 ff
2. *Cf.* Sugimori, *op. cit.*, p. 96.
3. *Cf. Kōtō Shōgaku Nihon Rekishi*, No. II (Tokyo, 1912), pp. 62-64.

and National Shrines. These two national heroes are *Sugawara* Michizane (845-903 A.D.) and *Takenouchi* Sukune.[1] The former is worshipped as Temmangū, the god of learning and calligraphy,[2] the latter is a more or less legendary character of early Japanese history who is accredited with having served five Emperors.[3] The total number of national heroes, then, who are worshipped at the Government and National Shrines, in addition to those enshrined at the Yasukuni Jinja, is twenty-nine.

At all other large Government and National Shrines the deities worshipped are either of obscure origin or else they are well known *kami* of the ancient Shintō pantheon. For the most part they are nature deities belonging to the latter group.

The list of "ancestors" here includes the Sky-Father, *Izanagi-no-mikoto;* the Earth-Mother, *Izanami-no-mikoto;* the Sun-Goddess, *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami;* the Moon-God, *Tsuki-yomi-no-mikoto;* the wind deities, *Shina-tsu-hiko-no-kami* and *Shina-tsu-hime-no-kami;* the Great Food-Goddess, *Toyo-uke-no-ō-mi-kami* (*Toyo-uke-bime-no-kami*); the "Food-Spirit-Deity," *Uka-no-mitama-no-kami;* the Storm-God, *Susa-no-wo-no-mi-koto;*[4] the goddess of Mount Fuji, *Ko-no-hana-saku-ya-hime-no-mikoto;* the ocean deity, *Ō-wata-tsu-mi-no-kami* ("The Deity Great-Ocean-Possessor") and other sea deities produced by *Izanagi* as he purified himself with water after his return from the Lower World, namely: "Deity Possessor-of-the-Ocean-

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1. The shrines of the former are:—

(1) Kitano Shrine, *Kampei Chūsha*, Kyoto, Kyoto Prefecture. This shrine was established in 947 A.D. with the object of propitiating Michizane's spirit.

(2) Daizaifu Shrine, *Kampei Chūsha*, Daizaifu Machi, Fukuoka Prefecture.

The shrines to Takenouchi are:—

(1) Kehi Shrine, *Kampei Taisha*, Tsuruga Machi, Fukui Prefecture.

(2) Ube Shrine, *Kokuhei Chūsha*, Kokufu Mura, Tottori Prefecture.

2. *Cf.* Aston, *Shintō*, pp. 179-183.

3. *Cf.* A, I, p. 294, note 4.

4. The nature deities included in the list thus far are all worshipped at the Great Shrines of Ise. *Cf.* Sugimori, *op. cit.* pp. 1-6.

Bottom" (*Soko-tsu-wata-tsu-mi-no-kami*), "Deity Possessor-of-the-Ocean-Middle" (*Naka-tsu-wata-tsu-mi-no-kami*), "Deity Possessor-of-the-Ocean-Surface" (*Uwa-tsu-wata-tsu-mi-no-kami*), "Bottom-Possessing-Male-Augustness" (*Soko-tsutsu-no-wo-no-mikoto*), "Middle-Possessing-Male-Augustness" (*Naka-tsutsu-no-wo-no-mikoto*) and "Surface-Possessing-Male-Augustness" (*Uwa-tsutsu-no-wo-no-mikoto*).

In continuation must be added, the harvest god, *Mitoshi-no-kami;* the mountain deity, *Ō-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami* ("Deity Great-Mountain-Possessor," born from *Izanagi* and *Izanami*); the thunder-god, *Take-mika-dzuchi-no-kami;* the lightning-god, *Futsu-nushi-no-kami;* the earth deity, *Kana-yama-hiko-no-kami* ("Metal-Mountain-Prince-Deity," produced from the vomit of *Izanami*); the deity of growth, *Waku-musubi-no-kami* ("Young-Wondrous-Producing-Deity," who came from the urine of *Izanami*) and the deity of the distribution of water, *Ame-no-mi-kumari-no-kami* ("Deity-Heavenly-Water-Divider"). The last named god is the child of the deity of rivers and river mouths, *Haya-aki-tsu-hiko-no-kami*, and the sea-goddess, *Haya-aki-tsu-hime-no-kami* who are, in turn, offspring of *Izanagi* and *Izanami*.[1]

The appearance in the official cult of the worship of the deities who preside over rain deserves special mention. The god worshipped at the Upper Nifu Kawakami Shrine (*Kampei Taisha*), located at Kawakami Mura of Nara Prefecture, is *Taka-okami-no-kami*, the "Fierce-Rain-god" who appears in mythology when the great drought is broken with the death of *Kagu-tsuchi*.[2] At the Lower Nifu Kawakami Shrine of Minami Yoshino Mura the enshrined deity is *Kura-okami-no-kami*, "Dark-Rain-god," who appears on the upper part of the sword of *Izanagi* when the latter slays his child.[3] The validity of the interpretation which regards *Taka-okami-no-kami* and *Kura*

1. It is not possible to give here the various shrines where these deities are worshipped. The reader should consult the sources cited above, p. 269, Note 2.

2. See above, p. 205.

3. See above, p. 204.

okami-no-kami as rain deities is supported by a study of their actual functions in the cult life of modern official Shintō. Prayer and sacrifice offered to these deities at the Upper and the Lower Nifu Shrines are regarded as efficacious either in stopping long continued rain or in bringing on rain after a drought. According to local custom, the presentation of a white horse is potent in breaking up a long spell of wet weather while the offering of a black horse will call forth black clouds and an abundance of rain.[1]

Among the deified ancestors of the national cult is a sword. The deity enshrined at the Atsuta Shrine (*Kampei Taisha*) of Atsuta Machi, Aichi Prefecture, is *Kusa-nagi-no-tsurugi*, "Grass-mowing-Sword,"[2] one of the Three Sacred Treasures of the Imperial Regalia. It will be recalled that, according to tradition, the original of this sword was extracted from the tail of the great serpent of Idzumo. Japanese authorities explain this sword as the *shintai* of the deity and not the deity itself.[3] According to this interpretation the spirit (*mitama*) of the sword is the real *kami*. Yet it is significant that the writers of the *Dai Nihon Shimmei Jisho* are apparently unacquainted with any name for this deity apart from the sword itself.[4] The official title of the god of the Atsuta Shrine is *Kusa-nagi-no-mi-tsurugi*,[5] "Grass-mowing-Divine-Sword," although the older title of *Ama-no-mura-kumo-no-tsurugi*, "Clustering-clouds-Sword-of-Heaven," may still be met with.

The deities worshipped at the Idzushi Shrine (*Kokuhei Chūsha*) of Kamimura, Hyōgo Prefecture are even more remarkable. Here the worship of certain ancient implements of primitive magic has survived into the official cult of the present. The *kami* of this shrine are the "Eight Great Deities of

1. *Cf.* Sugimori, *op. cit.*, Pt. I, p. 13; Pt. II, p. 31.
2. *Ibid.*, Pt. I, p. 19; Pt. II, p. 39.
3. *Ibid.*, Pt. II, p. 39.
4. *Cf. Dai Nihon Shimmei Jisho*, p. 128.
5. 草薙神劒.

Idzushi" mentioned in the *Kojiki*, namely, two strings of beads, a wave-shaking scarf, a wave-cutting scarf, a wind-shaking scarf, a wind-cutting scarf, a mirror of the offing and a mirror of the shore.[1] The scarfs listed here undoubtedly have a magical association. Chamberlain in his translation of the *Kojiki* interpretes them to mean, "a scarf to raise the waves and a scarf to still the waves, a scarf to raise the wind and a scarf to still the wind."[2] The same author calls attention to other magic scarfs mentioned in the *Kojiki*.[3] It is certainly of no small interest to find these objects among the "ancestors" of the great National Shrines of modern official Shintō.

Among the deities worshipped at the Inari Shrine (*Kampei Taisha*) of Fukakusa Mura of Kyoto Prefecture is the old phallic god, *Saruta-hiko-no-mikoto*.[4]

The discussion thus far furnishes us with material on which to base certain conclusions regarding the nature of official Shintō. The deities worshipped at the Government and National Shrines include twelve Emperors, three Empresses (two highly legendary), eleven princes and twenty-nine representatives of the ordinary subjects of the state, in addition to those enshrined at the Yasukuni Jinja of Tokyo. All other deities to be met with in the shrines of the grades which we have had under examination are nature deities, including a small number of fetishistic objects which have their probable origin in primitive magic, or else they are deities of unknown origin. The worship at these official shrines is far from being exclusively ancestor worship. The modern Japanese government *interpretes* nature deities as ancient ancestors, but this does not alter their original character as forces and phenomena of nature. The worship at the greatest of the government

1. *Cf.* Sugimori, *op. cit.*, Pt. I, p. 74; Pt. II, p. 119. The official title of this group of deities is 八種神寶, *Ya kusa-no kamu-takara*, "Eight-Kinds-of-Divine-Treasures."

2. *Cf.* C., p. 251, note 17.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Cf.* Sugimori, *op. cit.*, Pt. I, p. 9; Pt. II, p. 29.

shrines, just as in the cases of the smallest rural shrines, centers in *kami*-cult, wherein *kami* is to be understood in the sense of *mana*. Further confirmation of this statement will be found in the actual religious use made of these deities by the government itself.

Forms of prayer to be offered before these various deities are carefully fixed by national law. Attention has already been called to the fact that shortly after the Restoration in 1868 measures were adopted by the Japanese government for promoting politico-religious centralization by providing uniform ceremonies for the Shintō shrines. New rituals (*norito*), based on those of the *Engi-Shiki*, were issued on April 13, 1875.[1] A revision of these earlier rituals was adopted by the government on March 27, 1914, under Order No. 4 of the Department of Home Affairs.[2] These new regulations, which furnish forms of public worship for Shintō shrines of all grades, went into effect on April 1, 1914.[3] It is necessary to examine the nature of the petitions that are contained in these *norito* of 1914.

The *norito* read before the *kami* by the *gūji*, or chief priest, in the celebration of the Festival of Prayer for the Year's Crops (*Kinen Sai*) at Government Shrines and National Shrines contains petitions for abundant harvests and for the protection of the growing crops against devastation by wind, flood and rain. The passage which contains this prayer may be rendered: "Grant that all things produced by cultivation, from the harvest of late-ripening rice to the smallest leaves of plants, may not suffer by evil wind or by violent waters. Prosper them fruitfully and luxuriantly (to the end that) the Harvest Festival may be performed with splendor and with beauty."[4]

At the same festival a civil official, sent from either the

1. See above, p. 21.
2. *Cf. Genkō Jinja Hōrei Ruisan*, pp. 271-310.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 272.
4. The original texts of the sections of this and the other *norito* which are

Imperial Household Department or from the office of the local governor, presents a *norito* which includes the following prayer: "Grant to bless with ears eight hand-breadths long, yea with fine ears, the harvest of late-ripening rice which the sovereign deities will bestow. From the Great House[1] of the Sovereign to the people of the land,[2] grant that all may prosper more and more (with lineage) long and (with families) wide, like the luxuriant manifold branches of the mulberry tree."[3]

In the ritual employed in the celebration of the Harvest Festival (*Niiname Sai*) on the twenty-third of each November, prayer is offered to the deities of the official cult as follows: "Bless and prosper with peace and tranquility the mighty Reign of His Sovereign Augustness, with majestic Reign, with prosperous Reign, for a thousand myriad long continued autumns. Grant to care for and to bless (all), from the Imperial Princes and their offspring to the people of the land; prosper

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here considered, accompanied by transliteration with roman letters, are added for purposes of reference.

奥都御年乎始米氏、草乃片葉爾至留麻傳、作里登作留物共乎、悪伎風荒伎水爾相波世給波受、豐爾牟久佐加爾成幸給比氏、新嘗乃御祭嚴志久美志久仕奉良志米給閉。

Oki tsu mitoshi wo hajimete, kusa no kakiha ni itaru made, tsukuri to tsukuru mono domo wo, ashiki kaze araki midzu ni awase tamawazu, yutaka ni mukusaka ni nashi sakiwae tamaite, niinae [*niiname*] *no matsuri ikashiku uruwashiku tsukae-matsurashime tamae.—Genkō Jinja Hōrei Ruisan*, pp. 275-6.

1. *Ōmikado*, lit. "great-august-gate;" the reference, however, is to the Imperial Household. *Cf.* I. Muromatsu, *Shin Norito Tsūkai* (室松岩雄、新祝詞通解, "A Commentary on the New Norito," Tokyo, 1921), p. 9.

2. Written 天乃下乃國民, but read *ame no shita no ōmitakara* ("the great august treasure under heaven"). The reference is to the people of the nation as the great treasure of the Emperor.

3. 皇神等乃依奉良牟奥都御年乎、八束穗乃茂穗爾成幸給比氏、天皇賀大朝廷乎始米氏、天乃下乃國民爾至留麻傳、彌遠爾廣爾、五十橿八桑枝乃如久、立榮衣志米給閉。

Sumekami tachi no yosashi matsuramu oki tsu mitoshi wo, yatsuka ho no ikashi ho ni nashi sakiwae tamaite, Sumera ga ōmikado wo hajimete, ame no shita no ōmitakara ni itaru made, iyatō ni iyahiro ni ikashi yazuwae no goloku tachisakae-shime tamae.—Genkō Jinja Hōrei Ruisan, p. 276.

them like the luxuriant manifold branches of the mulberry tree, and make them to serve the *kami*."[1]

In the course of the same ceremony a civil official is instructed to pray: "Grant that the August Descendants (of *Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami*) may partake of the Great Food, in peace and tranquility, for a thousand myriad long-continued autumns. From the Great House of the Sovereign to the people of the land grant that (all) may prosper more and more (with lineage) long and (with families) wide like the luxuriant manifold branches of the mulberry tree."[2]

In the *norito* prepared for the use of the chief priests in the grand local festivals (*reisai*) of Government Shrines and National Shrines appears a prayer which may be translated: "Bless the Great Reign of His Sovereign Augustness with majesty and prosperity; and may it be as firm and as everlasting as the rocks. Prosper it as a long continued Reign. Grant protection and blessing (to all), long continued and peaceful, from the Imperial Princes and their offspring to the people of the land."[3]

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1. 天皇命乃大御代乎、嚴御代乃足御代登、萬千秋乃長五百秋爾、平介久安介久齋奉里幸奉里給比、親王等諸王等乎始米氏、天乃下乃國民爾至留麻傳、撫給比惠給比氏、五十橿八桑枝乃如久、立榮衣仕奉貳志米給閉。

Sumera mikoto no ōmiyo wo ikashi miyo no tarashi miyo to yorozu chiaki no naga io aki ni tairakeku yasurakeku iwai matsuri sekiwae matsuri tamai, mikotachi ōkimitachi wo hajimete ame no shita no ōmitakara ni itaru made nade tamai megumi tamaite, ikashi yaguwae no gotoku tachisakae tsukae matsurashime tamae." —*Genkō Jinja Hōrei Ruisan*, p. 276.

2. 皇御孫命乃大御食乎、萬千秋乃長五百秋爾、平介久安介久聞食左志米給比、天皇賀大朝廷乎始米氏、天乃下國民爾至留麻傳、彌遠爾彌廣爾、五十橿八桑枝乃如久、立榮衣志米給閉。

Sumemima no mikoto no ōmike wo yorozu chiaki no naga io aki ni tairakeku yasurakeku kikoshime sashime tamai, sumera ga ōmikado wo hajimete ame no shita no ōmitakara ni itaru made iyatō ni iyahiro ni ikashi yaguwae no gotoku tachisakaeshime tamae.—*Genkō Jinja Hōrei Ruisan*, p. 277.

3. 天皇命乃大御代乎、嚴御代乃足御代登、堅磐爾常磐爾齋奉里、手長乃御代登幸奉里給比、親王等諸王等乎始米氏、大乃下乃國式爾至留麻傳、長久平介久守給比惠給閉。

Sumera mikoto no ōmiyo wo ikashi miyo no tarashi miyo to kakiwa ni tokiwa ni iwai matsuri tanaga no miyo to sakiwae matsuri tamai, mikotachi ōkimitachi

The ritual provided for the use of civil officials in presenting offerings from the government at grand local festivals contains the following prayer: "From the Great House of the Sovereign to the people of the land, guard and prosper (all) continuously and widely. Bring it to pass that this Food Country, (extending far) under heaven, with its unnumbered countries and unnumbered islands, with none omitted, with not one left out, (as far as) the limit where the wall of heaven stands, (as far as) the boundaries of lands standing afar off—bring it to pass that (all) may look up to the great glory of the Great Emperor and that (all lands) may be covered with the august light of the Imperial Land."[1]

In the *Saitansai Norito* (Ritual for the Festival of the First Day of the Year) occurs the prayer: "Protect this new year and prosper it as a good year, as a rich year. Bless the Great House of His Sovereign Augustness with the strength and the eternity of the rocks. Keep the land (*ame no shita*) in peace, make the (five) cereals plentiful, cause industry to make progress more and more, and prosper the people with increasing abundance. Cause thy Great Glory[2] to shine more and more together with the light of the first rising sun of the year."[3]

wo hajimete ame no shita no ōmitakara ni itaru made nagaku tairakeku mamori tamai megumi tamae.—Genkō Jinja Hōrei Ruisan, p. 277.

1. 天皇賀大朝廷乎始米坐氐、天乃下乃國民爾至留麻傳、彌遠爾彌廣爾守給比幸給比氐、此乃食國天乃下波、國乃八十國島乃八十島、漏留留事無久落都留事無久、天乃壁立極、國乃退立限、皇大朝廷乃大御稜威乎仰賀志米給比、皇大御國乃大御光乎蒙良志米給閇。

Sumera ga ōmikado wo hajimete ame no shita no ōmitakara ni itaru made iyatō ni yahiro ni mamori tamai sakiwae tamaite, kono osukumi ame no shita wa kuni no yaso kuni shima no yaso shima moruru koto naku otsuru koto naku ame no kaki tatsu kiwami kuni no sokitatsu kagiri sume ōmikato no ōmitsu wo aogashime tamai, sume ōmikuni no ōmihikari wo kagōrashime tamae.—Genkō Jinja Hōrei Ruisan, p. 277.

2. Addressed to the deity or deities of the local shrine.

3. 此乃年乎良伎年乃美志年登、守給比幸給比氏、天皇命乃大朝廷乎、堅磐爾常磐爾、齋奉里給比、天乃下平介久、穀物豐介久、産業乎彌遂米爾奨米、國民乎彌榮衰爾榮衰志米給比氐、大御稜威乎差昇留年乃初日乃光登共爾、彌益益爾輝加志米給閇。

The ritual for use in the *Genshisai* (Festival of Sacrifice to the Origin, Jan. 3) contains the prayer: "Guard and bless the prosperity of the Imperial Throne, ruled over by His Sovereign Augustness, with the eternity of heaven and earth, unshaken and unchanged. Keep the land (*ame no shita*) in peace and the state (*kunuchi*) in tranquility. Make the Glory of the Great House of the Sovereign to shine with splendor in heaven and with splendor on earth and make heaven and earth to be filled with the Prosperity of the Imperial Land."[1]

In the *norito* for use in the celebration of the Emperor's Birthday (*Tenchōsetsu*) is the prayer: "Bless the life of His Sovereign Augustness with length of days and make it as firm and as everlasting as the multitudinous rock clusters. Prosper the Emperor with a majestic reign, cause the Imperial Glory to shine higher and wider evermore and make the Imperial benevolence to be revered forever and forever."[2]

The rituals for shrines of prefectural grade and below

Kono toshi wo yoki toshi no umashi toshi to mamori tamai sakiwae tamaite, sumera mikoto no ōmikado wo kakiwa ni tokiwa ni iwai matsuri tamai, ame no shita tairakeku tanatsu mono yutakeku nariwai wo iya susume ni susume ōmitakara wo iya sakae ni sakaeshime tamaite, ōmiizu wo sashinoboru toshi no hatsuhi no hikari to tomo ni iya masumasu ni kagayakashime tamae.—Genkō Jinja Hōrei Ruisan. p. 279.

1. 天皇命乃知食須天都日嗣乃大御隆、 天地乃共無窮爾動久事無久變留事無久齋奉里幸奉里給比、天乃下平介久、 國內安介久、 皇大朝廷乃大御稜威乎、天輝志國輝志爾輝加志米給比、皇人御國乃大御榮乎、天足志國足志爾足波志米給閉。

Sumera mikoto no shiroshimesu amatsu hitsugi no ōmisakae ame tsuchi no muta tokoshie ni ugoku koto naku kawaru koto naku iwai matsuri sakiwai matsuri tamai, ame no shita tairakeku kunuchi yasurakeku sume ōmikado no ōmiizu wo amakakashi kunikakashi ni kagayakashime tamai, sume ōmikuni no ōmisakae wo amatarashi kunitarashi ni tarawashime tamae.— Genkō Jinja Hōrei Ruisan, p. 279.

2. 天皇命乃大御壽乎、 手長乃大御壽登、由都磐村乃如久、常磐爾堅磐爾齋奉里、嚴御代爾幸奉里給比、 大御稜威乎彌高爾彌廣爾彌輝加志米給比、大御惠乎彌遠爾彌長爾仰賀志米給閉。

Sumera mikoto no ōmiinochi wo tanaga no ōmiinochi to yutsu iwa mura no gotoku tokiwa ni kakiwa ni iwai matsuri, ikashi miyo ni sakiwae matsuri tamai, ōmiizu wo iya taka ni iya hiro ni kagayakashime tamai, ōmimegumi wo iya tō ni iya naga ni aogashime tamae.— Genkō Jinja Hōrei Ruisan, p. 280.

repeat those prescribed for Government and National Shrines, with only such alterations as are necessitated by differences in the grades of the shrines and in the ranks of the officiating priests. The one exception to this general statement is to be found in the *norito* used in the great local festivals of all shrines below the *Kampeisha* and *Kokuheisha* classes. This ritual, as fixed by national law, contains a domestic prayer that deserves special attention. Herein petition is addressed to the local tutelary deities as follows:

"Again [lit. dividing the words], we say: Since they thus serve thee, grant to protect and bless widely and liberally both thy protégés and also the people of this district [the name of the village, town, ward, city or district of the prefecture is here inserted]. Keep them contented in heart and well in body, make their homes peaceful and their occupations prosperous. May they one and all live in increasing harmony and grant that children born to them may prosper more and more unto numberless generations [lit. *yaso tsuzuki*, "eighty successions"]. This we say with deepest reverence."[1]

The forms of prayer to be offered before the deities of the shrines are thus precisely fixed by national law. In these rituals the government, itself, acting through its authorized representatives, makes appeal to various *kami*, regarded as "ancestral spirits," for certain very definite benefits. The range of the appeals covers most of the vital interests of the modern state. It includes prayers for the protection of grow-

1. 辭別伎氏自左久、此久仕奉留爾依里氏御氏子乃人等、又此乃某道府縣（郡市區町村）乃人等乎、廣久厚久守給比惠給比氏、心穩爾身健爾、家内安久產業豐介久、各母各母彌嘗毘爾嘗毘氏、生乃子乃八十續爾至留麻傳、彌榮衣爾榮衣志米給閇登、恐美恐美母白須。

Kotowakite mōsaku, kaku tsukaematsuru ni yorite, minjiko no hitodomo mo mata kono bō dō fu ken (gun, shi, ku, cho, son no hitodomo wo hiroku atsuku megumi tamai megumi tamaite, kokoro odai ni mi sukoyaka ni ienuchi yasuku sangyō yutakeku ono mo ono mo iya nigibi ni nigibite, umi no ko no yaso tsuzuki ni itaru made iya sakae ni sakae shime tamae to, kashikomi kashikomi mōsu Genkō Jinja *Hōrei Ruisan*, pp. 283-4.

ing crops, for abundant harvests, for the prosperity, health and contentment of the people, for domestic harmony, for national peace and progress, for flourishing offspring in the families of rulers and subjects, for the well-being and unbroken continuity of the Imperial House, for a long and prosperous reign on the part of the Emperor and for the extension of the prestige of Japan throughout the world.

The same idea of an officially inspired appeal to the deities of Shintō, regarded as active agents in a superhuman spirit-world, is to be found in certain other important documents of state which have been promulgated between 1868 and the present.

The Imperial Rescript to the Daimyō, issued March 21, 1868, says, in one section, "As has already been notified, the existence of relations with foreign countries involves very important questions. We are willing therefore for the sake of the people of the Empire to brave the perils of the deep and to undergo the greatest hardships; to swear to spread the national glory abroad, and to satisfy the departed spirits of Our ancestors, and of the late Emperor."[1]

The Imperial Decree of October 12, 1881, promising the establishment of a parliament, reads in one of its clauses, "Our ancestors in Heaven watch Our acts, and We recognize Our responsibility to them for the faithful discharge of Our high duties, in accordance with the principles, and the perpetual increase of the glory, they have bequeathed to Us."[2]

The promulgation of the Japanese Constitution on Feb. 11, 1889, was accompanied by an Imperial oath, the first declaration of which says, "We, the Successor to the prosperous Throne of Our Predecessors, do humbly and solemnly swear to the Imperial Founder of Our House and to Our other Imperial Ancestors that, in pursuance of a great policy co-extensive with the Heavens and with the Earth, We shall maintain and secure

1. *Japan Herald*, April 18, 1868, p. 1339.
2. *Japan Weekly Mail*, 1881, p. 1199.

from decline the ancient form of government." The oath concludes: "These Laws amount to only an exposition of grand precepts for the conduct of the government, bequeathed by the Imperial Founder of Our House and by Our other Imperial Ancestors. That we have been so fortunate in Our reign, in keeping with the tendency of the times, as to accomplish this work, We owe to the glorious Spirits of the Imperial Founder of Our House and of Our other Imperial Ancestors.

"We now reverently make Our prayer to Them and to Our Illustrious Father and implore the help of Their Sacred Spirits, and make to Them solemn oath never at this time nor in the future to fail to be an example to Our subjects in the observance of the Laws hereby established.

"May the Heavenly Spirits witness this Our solemn Oath." (Official Translation.)[1]

After the battle of the Sea of Japan in the Russo-Japanese War, the Emperor telegraphed to the grand fleet under Admiral Tōgō: *Nanjira no chūretsu ni yotte sosō no shinrei ni kotōru wo uru wo yorokobu*, "We rejoice that by your loyalty and valor We are able to answer to the divine Spirits of Our ancestors."[2]

The Imperial rescript issued on the occasion of the successful conclusion of the Russo-Japanese war says, in part, "The result is due in large measure to the benign Spirits of Our Ancestors, as well as to the devotion to duty of our civil and military officials and the self-denying patriotism of Our people. . . . . Peace and glory having thus been secured, We are happy to invoke the blessing of the benign Spirits of Our Ancestors and to be able to bequeath the fruits of these great deeds to Our posterity."[3]

The Address of the Emperor to the Army and Navy at

1. Itō, H., *Commentaries on the Constitution of the Empire of Japan* Tokyo, 1889), pp. 151-2.

2. *Japan Weekly Mail*, Oct. 21, 1905, p. 433.

3. *Japan Weekly Mail, op. cit.*

the close of the same war contains the words, "By your loyalty, faithfulness, and valour I have achieved the purposes of the war, and have been enabled to discharge the duties devolving on Me toward the Divine Ancestors and toward My people."[1]

The Imperial rescript of Yoshihito, the reigning Emperor, issued at his coronation, November 10, 1915, contains the invocation, "May the Heavenly Spirits of Our Ancestors, to whom We owe so much, witness our determination that We will fulfill Our mission by diligently labouring day and night."[2]

The language of these Imperial utterances is unmistakable. In these citations from documents which can be taken as representative of the life of the state at its very center, we find that the great ancestral *kami* are thought of, not as mere human beings whose exalted achievements on earth are being commemorated, but as actually existing, supernatural agencies whose aid is sought in prayer and ceremony and toward whom a profound responsibility is felt.

This same supernaturalistic conception of the *kami* may be seen likewise in the manner in which all the great affairs of state, such as the consummation of treaties, the declaration of war, the celebration of victory, the signing of peace, important activities of members of the Imperial Family, the accession to the throne of a new Emperor, etc., are all reported to the "spirits of the Imperial Ancestors" at Ise and elsewhere. Such cases are so numerous that present treatment must be limited merely to the setting forth of a certain amount of illustrative material.

Notices such as the following occur repeatedly in the Official Gazette (*Kampō*). "H.M. the Empress will proceed to Kyoto to worship at the Imperial mausolea at Momoyama, Izumiyama and other places in and near Kyoto, leaving Tokyo station at 6:15 on Tuesday morning by a special train."[3]

1. *Ibid.*, p. 434.

2. *Ibid.*, Nov. 13, 1915, p. 237.

3. *Official Gazette*, dated May 11, 1919; *Japan Times and Mail.* (Weekly Ed.), May 17, 1919, p. 666.

Subsequent to the completion of the revision of the Imperial House Law by a special committee of high officials the government stated: "The change was formally announced before the sanctuary of the Imperial ancestors in the Imperial palace yesterday with appropriate ceremonies.

"Similar reports were made at the same time at the Grand Shrines of Ise, and before the mausolea of the First Emperor, Jimmu Tennō, and the late Emperor Meiji, for which purpose special messengers were dispatched by the Imperial Court."[1]

Imperial Household Ordinances relating to marriages in the Imperial Family contain the following articles bearing on the matter under discussion.

"Art. III. When the matrimonial engagement is made, the fact shall be announced at the Imperial Ancestral Shrine (*Kōreiden*) as well as at the shrines for the *Kami* (*Shinden*) placed in the Sanctuary in the Palace, and Imperial messengers carrying special offerings shall be dispatched to the Jingu Shrines [Ise], and the mausolea of the Emperor Jimmu and of the Emperor and Empress immediately predeceasing the reigning monarch."

"Art. VI. On the day of the ceremony a solemn announcement of the fact shall be made at the Shrine in the Sanctuary."

"Art. VII. The ceremony shall be performed in the front of the Santuary (*Kashikodokoro*) in accordance with the rites specially determined."

"Art. IX. The Emperor, accompanied by the Empress, shall, at the close of the wedding ceremony, appear (for worship) at the *Kōreiden* and the *Shinden*."

"Art. XII. The Emperor and the Empress shall, after the conclusion of the ceremony, proceed to the Jingū shrines and to the mausolea of the Emperor Jimmu and of the last Emperor and Empress for devotional purposes."[2]

1. *Japan Times and Mail* (Weekly Ed.), Dec. 7, 1918, p. 1461.
2. (*Official Gazette*); *Japan Weekly Mail*, May 12, 1900, p. 464.

The marriage of the Prince Imperial, Yoshihito [present Emperor], to the Princess Sada was accompanied by religious observances that differed in no essential respect from the rites conducted at ordinary Shintō shrines. They included the ceremony of opening the shrine, sacred music, presentation of food offerings, the recitation of *norito* and the presentation of *gohei*.[1]

The accession ceremonies of the reigning Emperor, which took place immediately after the death of the late Emperor, Mutsuhito, in 1912, were largely religious in character. The report says, "At 1 A.M. yesterday, very shortly after the death of the Emperor, ceremonies were held at the Court in connection with the accession to the throne of the Crown Prince.

"The proceedings began with a service before the Imperial Sanctuary, the *Kashikodokoro* (Sanctuary) being fully decorated. The doors were opened at 1 A.M. and all due offerings made. All the court dignitaries and high officials of State were present. Prince Iwakura, Chief Ritualist, advanced and read an address expressing congratulation upon the accession to the throne of the new Emperor. The bell of the shrine was then rung by the Chief Ritualist, assisted by a subordinate. Prince Iwakura, on behalf of the new Emperor, and another Ritualist, Miyachi, representing the new Empress, worshipped at the Imperial Sanctuary, after which the offerings were removed and the door of the sanctuary closed, all present retiring.

"The same ceremony was held also before the *Kōreiden*, or Imperial Ancestor's Shrine, that the Imperial Ancestors might be informed of the succession."[2]

The formal coronation ceremony of the present Emperor was similarly announced to the ancestral spirits. The account of the service says: "The great Ritual service before the *Kashikodokoro* enshrined in the *Shunkō Den*, began at eight o'clock this morning. At this important ceremonial, Emperor Yoshi-

1. *Cf. Japan Weekly Mail*, May 12, 1900, p. 454; May 5, 1900, p. 428.
2. *Japan Advertiser*, July 31, 1912, p. 1.

hito formally acquired the Three Sacred Treasures and reported before his ancestral spirits in the *Kashikodokoro*, the fact of his succession to the great and time honoured heritage. His Majesty then fervently prayed for the prosperity of his reign."[1]

The dates of the coronation were earlier reported to the Imperial Ancestors, at a ceremony held in the court sactuary, as follows, "Sacred music heralded the beginning of the ceremony and the Court ritualists made offering of food at the sanctuary. . . . . The Emperor, attended by Lord Chamberlain, Prince Takatsukasa, and a few others, proceeded to the sanctuary, before which His Majesty read a scroll announcing the dates of the Coronation and the thanksgiving Festival. . . . . The Imperial messengers, ordered to the Great Shrine at Ise and the Imperial mausolea at several places to report the dates of the Coronation and the Thanksgiving Festival, were present in ceremonial costumes."[2]

On August 28, 1914, the Official Gazette published as Order Number 19 of the Department of Home Affairs a ritual to be used in announcing the declaration of war against Germany before the deities of the shrines. The order contains the following prayer :—

"Especially care for and bless the soldiers who, in accordance with the Great Command of the Emperor, are bravely and steadily pressing forward, and also care for and bless the people of the whole land who are uniting their hearts and exerting their strength for the world[3] and for their country.

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1. *Japan Weekly Mail*, Nov. 13, 1915, p. 234.

2. *Japan Evangelist*, March, 1914, p. 126. For accounts of similar religious ceremonies see *Japan Times and Mail* (Weekly Ed.), May 10, 1919, pp. 637 and 639; May 31, 1919, p. 727; Jan. 18, 1919, p. 85; *Japan Weekly Mail*, Oct. 13 and 21, 1905; Nov. 13, 1915. See also articles by K. Ibuka, "The Coronation of the Emperor of Japan," *Record of Christian Work*, Vol. XXXV (May, 1916), pp. 275-8 and by J. Ingram Bryan, "The Crown Prince Comes of Age," *Japan Magazine*, June, 1919, pp. 51-53.

3 This is the only instance of internationalism in the Shintō prayers tha has come under the observation of the writer.

Utterly and quickly subdue the enemy attacking on land and on sea; drive him away and scatter him. Restore to peace and calm the troubled waves of the eastern sea. Makes the glory of the Imperial House to spread abroad far and wide, more and more, in the lands of the four directions under heaven; make it to shine with increasing brightness. Protect and bless us with a guard by day and a guard by night."[1]

Government supervision of the form of the rites conducted at the shrines on important official occasions is equally minute. Here again the abundance of data available for examination in the national laws necessitates that our treatment be limited to the presentation of a single example. The order of service translated below appears on the statute books as a part of Order Number Four of the Department of Home Affairs, dated March 27, 1914. It is intended for use in the Festival of Prayer for the Year's Crops, the Harvest Festival and the Grand Local Festivals at all Government and National Shrines.

"On the appointed day early in the morning the shrine sanctuary is decorated.

"At the appointed time the chief priest and others take seats in their designated places.

"The messenger who presents the offering (for the state) comes forward. Prior to this the hand-water ceremony is observed.

"The messenger who presents the offering goes to the place of purification.

"The purification ceremony is performed. First the offering, then the messenger and then his attendants are purified.

"The messenger who presents the offering takes his seat in a designated place.

"The ceremonial chest (containing) the offering (of the state) is set in a convenient place.

"The chief priest announces to the messenger that all preparations are completed.

1. *Kampō*, No. 624, Aug. 28, 1914.

"The chief priest opens the doors and awaits near by. Music during this interval.

"The *negi* and others present (ordinary) offerings. Music during this interval.

"The chief priest recites *norito*.

"The messenger and his attendants take the offering (of the state) from the ceremonial chest and place it temporarily on a table. The table has been previously set in a convenient position.

"The chief priest presents the offering (of the state).

"The messenger recites *norito*.

"The messenger presents *tamagushi* and worships.[1] The attendants hand him the *tamagushi*.

"The attendants of the messenger worship.

"The chief priest presents *tamagushi* and worships. The ***shuten*** hand him the *tamagushi*.

"The sub-chief priest or *negi* and others worship.

"The sub-chief priest or *negi* and others remove the offering (of the state).

"The *negi* and others remove the (ordinary) offerings.

"The chief priest closes the doors and resumes his original place. Music during this interval.

"The chief priest announces to the messenger that the ceremony is completed.

"All retire."[2]

We may pass on to the summary and termination of the entire discussion. Our investigation leads to the conclusion that the official cult of the Shintō Shrines is the state religion of modern Japan. Shintō must be classified as genuine religion. Not only so, but it is also a religion to which the government, actuated by political motives, accords special protection and

1. 拝礼, *hairei*. The term simply inverts the elements of the expression for worship, *reihai*, of the ordinary religious vocabulary of modern Japan. Inouye defines *hairei* as "the worship of a divine being." *Cf. s. v.*

2. *Genkō Jinja Hōrei Ruisan*, p. 272.

support. There has been no disestablishment of Shintō in the modern period. From the time of the Restoration in 1868 right down to the present, the general tendency of legislation in religious matters has been in the direction of cementing with increasing closeness the bonds which unite the Shintō shrines to the inner life of the state itself. It is true that certain Shintō sects, so-called, have been legally separated from the official cult and that the legal control of Shintō as a state religion has been set apart from that of other religions, but the net result of such manipulation has been to facilitate an unimpeded extension of official control over the shrines, and at the same time to furnish the government with a legal smoke screen behind which it can escape the shock of opposition.

Shintō priests are officially defined as officers of the state with such matters as appointment, duties, privileges, maintenance and discipline adjusted by special legal enactments. The shrines are regarded as institutions of the state with affairs of management and finance fixed by national law, and support supplied either wholly or in part out of the revenues of the central or local governments. Rituals for use at the shrines are carefully determined by special statute. Government officials, in their capacities as representatives of the state, participate in the ceremonies. The rituals for use in the great festivals of Government and National Shrines are built up around the fact of the presentation of offerings from the government. Public education makes prominent use of a program which attempts to build national morality on an appeal to Shintō mythology and tradition, and good citizenship is identified with the acceptance of this mythology. The dogma of the sacredness of a divinely descended Emperor of unbroken lineage from the age of the gods is written into the national Constitution itself. The same proposition occupies a central place in the ethical instruction of the public schools and in the shrine rituals alike. In other words, Shintō ancestralism centering in the worship of Imperial ancestors enters as a primary

element into the foundation of the Japanese state. Also, the observance of the national holidays is closely connected with ceremonies conducted at Shintō Shrines. Teachers in government schools are instructed to conduct their pupils, on regularly specified occasions, to the shrines and there do obeisance before the deities. The visit is also made the opportunity for the impartation of moral instruction in the elements of Japanese patriotism. Thus the nation as a whole is called upon to support the ritual and dogma of Shintō. In these various matters Shintō occupies a unique status as the cult of the state.

As a religion, it has places of worship, priestly functionaries and elaborate ceremonies that make use of purification, offerings, oaths, charms, reports to the deities, prayers and worship. Underlying the government rituals appears the assumption of the existence of a sacred spirit-world of deified "ancestors" who guard and guide the destinies of the nation. Even thus the difficulties would be considerably lessened if the deities to which the government directs prayer and sacrifice could be consistently identified as authentic ancestors. The authorities, however, have carried over into the official cult certain elements that have far more to do with primitive religion than they have with the vital interests of intelligent men in the modern world. The greatest of the "Imperial Ancestors" worshipped at the shrines are nothing other than mythological nature deities.

In all this the Japanese government is palpably inconsistent. As the "Report of the Investigation of the Problem of Reverence" published in 1920 by the Shin sect of Buddhism states the case, the government is constantly standing in the presence of a self-contradiction. The authorities have placed themselves in the anomalous position of maintaining a state religion in actual practice and at the same time attempting to propagate a theoretical denial of the religious status of the official cult. Government officials, speaking in their capacity as representatives of the state, have repeatedly insisted that the official policy relating to the Shintō shrines is altogether

independent of the policy that concerns itself with religion, or—to quote from the statement of the Chief of the Bureau of Shrines made in 1918—that "from the standpoint of the organization of the state, the shrines are not regarded as institutions of religion." At the same time the government publishes in the national laws themselves detailed rituals for use in government services conducted at these same shrines, wherein prayers are made to the deities of the shrines, regarded as superhuman spiritual powers. It is to be observed that the *norito* do not attempt to furnish material merely for nourishing the commemorative attitude and stimulating sentiments of gratitude and loyalty. On the other hand, the unseen powers of the shrines are appealed to by the government itself for aid in such all important matters as the safeguarding of the food supply, the tranquilization and perpetuation of the national life and the stabilization of the existing organization of the state around the institution of the Imperial Throne. A government which promulgates side by side statements which say, "Whatever opinion may be held as to what should be done regarding the religious attitude toward the shrines, the government will maintain a neutral position on the ground that religious belief should be free," and "Our ancestors in Heaven watch Our acts, and we recognize Our responsibility to them for the faithful discharge of Our high duties"; and which, at the same time, instructs its priestly representatives in the exact words of prayer to be used in supplicating these same "ancestors in Heaven"—such a government is, to say the least, inconsistent. The dualism that is here involved cannot be resolved by any of the known methods of human thinking which satisfy the simple requirement of being according to ordinary honest logic. The official distinction between the cult of the shrines and religion as such is *yūmei mujitsu*—it possesses name but not reality. It is a legal fiction which is without support in objective scientific fact.

It would be of no small interest to know the extent

to which individual officials of the government, actuated altogether by political motives, deliberately further the existing dualism, while at the same time they find it impossible to give sincere personal allegiance to the religious tenets which they thus propagate for purposes of political control. The problem as stated in this form involves the investigation of individual motives—a matter on which it is very difficult to secure evidence. Mr. Y. Okakura tells us that if we should question the modern Japanese of ordinary education as to whether or not he believes in "God in the Christian sense, or Buddha as the creator, or in the Shintō deities or else in any other personal agency or agencies, as originating and presiding over the universe," we would in ninty-nine cases out of a hundred get a negative answer.[1] Mr. Fukuzawa has been taken as a type of the educated Japanese man when he says, "I lack a religious nature, and have never believed in any religion."[2] If such agnosticism could be established as characteristic of the ruling classes of Japan as a whole, then the entire modern Shintō movement would take on the form of a grotesque piece of make-believe. Undoubtedly for many individuals especially among the educated and governing classes it is little more nor less than this. Possibilities of variation in the intensity of individual conviction, however, and in the range of individual knowledge, even among government officials, are vast. Ignorance, intentional double-dealing, out and out agnosticism, or deep personal religious faith may all exist as possible individual factors. Yet, taking the cult as it actually stands, with its paraphernalia of shrines, priests, ceremonies fixed by law and necessary underlying beliefs, it must be said, on the basis of the evidence that has already been passed in review, that modern Shintō represents a naive religious faith in which officialdom itself shares.

1. *Cf.* Y. Okakura, *The Japanese Spirit* (Lonon, 1905), p. 93.

2. *Cf.* Chamberlain, *The Invention of a New Religion* (London, 1912, 27 pages), p 5.

For many among the ruling classes the content of the term "shares" certainly seems to amount to little more than a "make-believe" participation which directs and exploits popular tendencies. Yet the important fact is that the government treats the cult of the shrines as pure religion and evidently builds on the possibility of finding in the life of the nation a field in which a state religion will grow. Indeed, there is good reason for believing that the government in its effort to secure a steadying influence wherewith to meet the stress and strain attendant upon the abolition of feudalism and the adjustment to a new national unification, which has involved reorganization to the conditions—including the dangers—of a wider international association and competition, has simply fallen back on the inherent conservatism of the old folkways. Here, as survivals out of the remote past, still exist feelings of racial uniqueness and even of racial sacredness, along with tendencies to classify the extraordinary members of society in the *mana* category and to assign their genealogical connections to a divine ancestry. This constitutes a fruitful field for the support of the official religion.

This means, of course, that the entire movement is dominated by a political motive. Government documents inform us in so many words that the Shintō shrines are being utilized in promoting the unification and administration of the country. Justification of the ambiguous religious policy of the authorities, if found anywhere, is to be found here on the ground of political necessity. The cult of the shrines concentrates attention on "home products"; it stimulates contentment with the existing order of things and confidence of superiority such as will withstand the seductions of foreign intercourse; it serves as a means of social discipline; it meets "dangerous thoughts" and thus does a kind of police duty for the state; and, above all, it utilizes the religious and moral aspirations of the people in such a way as to secure support for important political institutions. From the standpoint of the authorities the interests of the

people are confronted with the possibility of the simultaneous existence of two irreconcilable foci, one in the political field and one in a religious field lying outside of the proper interests of good citizenship as conceived by the government officials. The authorities apparently fear the possibility of a weakening of nationalism through the existence of a strong religious interest in which the issues of nationalism are not sufficiently prominent. In the national cult the two foci of nationalism and religion are made to coincide in a supreme center of loyalty to the Imperial ancestors. Proof of this statement is to be found not simply in the ethical and religious teaching of the government but is also to be seen in the very gradation of the shrines themselves, which passes from the local shrines to tutelary deities of villages and districts through larger shrines of various grades upward to the Grand Imperial Shrine of Ise which, as the place of worship of the "Great Ancestor of the Emperor" is so exalted as to transcend the ordinary shrine classification. The form of the religious organization reproduces that of the state. Accordingly, the underlying political motive of modern Shintō must be said to consist in the furnishing of support to the Imperial Throne, which is the emotional and practical center of the state. The Restoration reinstated the Emperor as the center of the political life of the nation. The cult of the shrines continues this work on the religious and moral side by glorifying the sentiment of loyalty to the Imperial Throne and giving to this sentiment a religious significance. This involves the elevation to preeminence in Shintō of Emperor worship and the unification of Shintō itself about this aspect of the cult. The government just now is especially concerned with this phase of the development of Shintō, as is witnessed by the construction of the great shrine to Meiji Tennō in Tokyo and the extension of Emperor worship to Korea.

The Japanese government is far from having solved all problems either for itself or for its subjects by its method of handling the Shintō issue. A certain small number of intellectuals have

attempted to sublimate the existing difficulties by the utilization of a pantheistic philosophy which permits a facile transition from nature deities to true ancestral spirits and which even makes room for the worship of living Emperors. The interpretation is esoteric, however, and is not in the original philosophy of Shintō. Moreover, the prominence of chauvinistic elements in the solution makes it impossible.

No more can confidence be placed in the solution offered by those representatives of the nationalistic-ethical school who take their stand on the fact of a legal distinction between the control of the Shintō shrines and of other religions and who assert that the idea of *kami* in Shintō is fundamentally different from the idea of deity found in ordinary religion. This form of interpretation presents a superficial *modus vivendi* for those who for various reasons find it necessary to repudiate the state cult as a religion but who at the same time wish to retain a social and political status as loyal supporters of the state. The great fallacy in the attempted solution here is that it completely overlooks the all important fact that the government itself is religiously interested even to the extent of making prayer for the divine aid of the deities of the shrines.

The difficulties of the Shintō situation are most deeply felt by those who are conscious of obligations to that scientific-democratic spirit which is slowly growing in modern Japan. It is fair to say that the number is steadily increasing of those who demand that Shintō adjust itself to the accepted conclusions of modern science and to the requirements of that individual moral freedom which finds it impossible to accept that which cannot be logically related to other things which are known to be true. It is not necessary to consult private opinion for evidence on this matter; the government itself complains of the situation. An official statement points to the "serious fact" that whereas the children in the elementary schools are sincere in their faith toward the deities of the shrines, students of higher schools manifest indifference toward the "verities"

of the government cult. The statement goes on the say, "The worshipping of ancestral shrines is so closely associated with the national character of the Empire that the above tendency cannot, in the least, be ignored as anything but serious. It is the authorities' decision that some proper steps be taken for the correction of the above undesirable state of affairs, assisted by the Shintō priests."[1] Up to the present the government's method of correction has involved parochialism in moral education and inquisitorial methods in the control of thought. This has meant the systematic suppression of individualism and no small amount of petty persecution. Some of the best minds in the nation have been forced into a silence that is full of "curses not loud but deep," or else have been driven completely over into the group of reactionaries. Some find refuge in hypocrisy. The resultant moral situation is serious. In spite of the protestations of a superior Japanese patriotism that come from a certain group of ultra-nationalists, the fact yet remains that the press of the land constantly calls attention to the existence of an extraordinary degeneration in the morale of public officials of the government. Comparison is not infrequently made with the conditions of political corruption that existed in England in the eighteenth century. If Shintō as a national cult, as a religion of loyalty and patriotism, is successful, then certainly one of its fruits ought to be fidelity in the discharge of public duties. It does not seem to have remotely occurred to the thinking of those who are responsible for the direction of the state religion that the possibility exists that the methods and materials which they utilize in fostering loyalty are slowly helping to undermine the foundations of the very thing that they are trying to establish.

In all this varied indication of a new point of view in present day Japan there is an implied recognition of the fact that the whole structure of Shintō tradition cannot possibly

1. Statement of the Chief of the Bureau of Shrines. See art. "Students Fail in Ancestor Worship," *Japan Times and Mail* (Weekly Ed.), May 28, 1921, p. 787.

stand forever as a consistent whole. The question is, what shall make up the sacred world of Shintō? "The divine origin of the Emperor, the unbroken line of his descent from the immortals, the guardianship that his deified ancestors extend to the realm and its people—these are the essential bases of Japanese patriotism."[1] So writes a modern Japanese interpreter of his native institutions. The point is a most delicate one, yet, in what sense shall these sacred things be preserved in modern Japan? What shall be the basis of patriotism in a world that includes science, democracy, internationalism and modern industrialism? The answer must be given by the Japanese themselves. Certain it is that a movement toward readjustment and reinterpretation has already set in. The great organizing concept in Shintō history is the idea of sacredness. A *kami* object is, after all, a sacred object; a *kami* person is a sacred person. The content of the sacred world may change; indeed, as the naive Shintō world-view gives place to the scientific world-view, it must change; but loyalty to sacred things must be eternal. This matter of discovering a basis for loyalty to which modern intelligent men can render sincere allegiance is one of the most urgent problems awaiting the solution of the Japanese people.

1. *Cf.* Brinkley, Captain F., (ed.), *Japan, Described and Illustrated by the Japanese* ("Written by eminent Japanese authorities and scholars."), Vol. II, p. 212.

APPENDIX A.

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APPENDIX B.

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APPENDIX C.*

I—STATISTICS FOR SHINTŌ SHRINES.

Year	Grand Shrine of Ise.	Government Shrines.	National Shrines.	Prefectural Shrines.	Totals for Shrines above grade of District Shrines.	District Shrines.	Village Shrines.	Ungraded Shrines.	Totals for Village and Ungraded Shrines.	Totals for all Shrines.
1880 ...	1	55	68	369	493	3,272	52,754	130,293	183,047	186,812
1881 ...	1	55	68	414	538	3,365	53,310	130,144	183,454	187,357
1882 ...	1	63	69	429	562	3,426	52,520	131,661	184,181	188,169
1883 ...	1	63	70	445	579	3,445	53,454	132,393	185,847	189,871
1884 ...	1	63	70	457	591	3,461	53,231	133,135	186,366	190,418
1885 ...	1	78	73	454	606	3,457	52,613	136,050	188,663	192,726
1886 ...	1	78	73	460	612	3,456	52,680	135,220	187,900	191,968
1887 ...	1	78	73	458	610	3,453	52,778	135,518	188,296	192,359
1888 ...	1	79	76	455	611	3,448	52,365	136,607	188,972	193,031
1889 ...	1	81	76	456	614	3,460	52,426	136,783	189,209	193,283
1890 ...	1	87	75	457	620	3,467	52,423	136,732	189,155	193,242
1891 ...	1	87	75	458	621	3,470	52,410	136,652	189,062	193,153
1892 ...	1	87	75	460	623	3,470	52,411	136,972	189,383	193,476
1893 ...	1	86	75	462	624	3,469	52,420	136,916	189,336	193,429
1894 ...	1	88	75	467	631	3,463	52,404	134,305	186,709	190,803
1895 ...	1	90	75	472	638	3,461	52,412	134,247	186,659	190,758
1896 ...	1	93	73	486	653	3,445	52,423	135,459	187,882	192,000
1897 ...	1	93	73	493	660	3,462	52,419	135,421	187,840	191,962
1898 ...	1	93	73	496	663	3,464	52,413	135,366	187,779	191,906
1899 ...	1	93	75	496	665	3,467	52,414	135,332	187,746	191,878
1900 ...	1	93	75	538	707	3,319	54,045	138,287	192,332	196,357
1901 ...	1	93	75	543	712	3,318	53,037	138,189	191,226	195,256
1902 ...	1	95	75	574	745	3,478	52,135	139,698	191,833	196,056
1903 ...	1	95	75	571	742	3,476	52,133	136,947	189,080	193,298
1904 ...	1	95	75	566	737	3,447	52,506	136,139	188,645	192,829
1905 ...	1	95	75	571	742	3,476	52,467	135,681	188,148	192,366
1906 ...	1	95	75	578	749	3,465	52,397	133,825	186,222	190,436
1907 ...	1	95	75	580	751	3,463	51,052	121,474	172,526	176,740
1908 ...	1	95	75	580	751	3,461	49,508	108,722	158,230	162,442
1909 ...	1	95	75	580	751	3,463	47,988	95,239	143,227	147,441
1910 ...	1	95	75	583	754	3,449	47,081	85,850	132,931	137,134
1911 ...	1	95	75	587	758	3,446	46,455	79,599	126,054	130,258
1912 ...	1	97	73	590	761	3,447	46,117	76,751	122,868	127,076
1913† ...	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1914 ...	1	98	72	599	770	3,452	45,680	72,691	118,371	122,593
1915 ...	1	98	72	606	777	3,455	45,514	71,063	116,577	120,809
1916 ...	1	102	73	625	801	3,447	45,332	69,338	114,670	118,918
1917 ...	1	102	75	634	812	3,451	45,248	68,218	113,466	117,729
1918 ...	1	102	75	648	826	3,456	45,165	67,419	112,584	116,866
1919 ...	1	105	75	666	847	3,457	45,155	66,738	111,893	116,197
1920 ...	1	105	75	685	866	3,462	45,112	66,069	111,181	115,509

* Based on yearly reports in *Kokusei Ippan*, published by the Department of Home Affairs. The statistics here given do not include those for small ungraded shrines located within the precincts of larger shrines.

† Statistics for 1913 are not available.

2—Statistics for Shintō Priests.

Year	Grand Shrine of Ise.	Government Shrines.	National Shrines.	Prefectural Shrines.	Totals for Shrines above District Shrines.	District Shrines.	Village Shrines.	Ungraded Shrines.	Totals for District, Village and Ungraded Shrines.	Total for all Shrines.
1880 ...	57	287	285	716	1,345	4,093	8,643	177	12,913	14,258
1881 ...	55	336	305	769	1,465	4,212	8,798	180	13,190	14,655
1882 ...	54	375	348	791	1,568	4,332	9,031	27	13,390	14,958
1883 ...	58	394	372	781	1,605	4,285	8,819	34	13,138	14,743
1884 ...	59	399	367	779	1,604	4,088	8,649	275	13,012	14,616
1885 ...	58	500	381	767	1,706	4,103	8,588	273	12,964	14,670
1886 ...	59	503	371	766	1,699	4,084	8,756	310	13,150	14,849
1887 ...	56	—	—	758	814	4,133	8,742	503	13,378	14,192
1888 ...	61	231	209	748	1,249	4,039	8,897	363	13,299	14,548
1889 ...	61	252	214	746	1,273	4,006	8,984	402	13,392	14,665
1890 ...	61	264	209	739	1,273	4,032	9,035	377	13,444	14,717
1891 ...	61	277	224	732	1,294	4,006	9,034	366	13,406	14,700
1892 ...	61	296	217	732	1,306	4,062	8,994	371	13,427	14,733
1893 ...	60	290	218	742	1,310	3,759	9,275	406	13,440	14,750
1894 ...	61	294	211	737	1,313	3,830	9,244	449	13,523	14,836
1895 ...	61	298	213	770	1,342	3,876	9,114	597	13,587	14,929
1896 ...	68	305	205	823	1,401	3,955	9,103	699	13,757	15,158
1897 ...	71	317	210	869	1,467	3,897	9,264	838	13,999	15,466
1898 ...	72	306	207	868	1,453	3,991	9,418	890	14,299	15,752
1899 ...	72	308	207	863	1,450	3,787	9,238	971	13,996	15,446
1900 ...	73	314	217	873	1,477	3,802	9,364	1,765	14,931	16,408
1901 ...	73	318	216	896	1,503	3,703	9,228	1,931	14,862	16,365
1902 ...	72	334	220	893	1,519	3,661	9,399	1,514	14,574	16,093
1903 ...	73	342	222	901	1,538	3,726	9,073	1,131	13,930	15,468
1904 ...	73	345	219	915	1,552	3,631	8,743	1,091	13,465	15,017
1905 ...	73	346	227	906	1,552	3,647	8,670	1,143	13,460	15,012
1 06 ...	73	354	225	918	1,570	3,688	8,710	1,176	13,574	15,144
1907 ...	72	354	230	923	1,579	3,608	8,660	1,161	13,429	15,008
1908 ...	73	360	230	912	1,575	3,588	8,549	1,124	13,261	14,836
1909 ...	73	356	234	910	1,573	3,604	8,543	1,101	13,248	14,821
1910 ...	73	377	214	908	1,572	3,575	8,485	895	12,955	14,527
1911 ...	73	371	224	902	1,570	3,532	8,513	883	12,928	14,498
1912 ...	73	369	226	887	1,555	3,470	8,448	879	12,797	14,352
1913 ...	73	383	225	894	1,575	3,394	8,378	876	12,648	14,223
1914 ...	73	408	208	890	1,579	3,365	8,491	907	12,763	14,342
1915 ...	73	403	227	907	1,610	3,422	8,679	908	13,009	14,619
1916 ...	73	414	239	955	1,681	3,408	8,677	926	13,011	14,692
1917 ...	73	426	236	951	1,686	3,405	8,716	925	13,046	14,732
1918 ...	73	427	234	958	1,692	3,433	8,714	920	13,067	14,759
1919 ...	73	432	233	969	1,707	3,417	8,624	950	12,991	14,698

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